The World's Classics

CCCIV

A MISCELLANY OF TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Capetown
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
HUMPHREY MILFORD
Publisher to the University

A MISCELLANY OF TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS

EDITED WITH A PREFACE AND INTRODUCTORY NOTES BY

A. C. WARD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
HUMPHREY MILFORD

This Miscellany of Tracts and Pamphlets was first published in 'The World's Classics' in 1927.

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

PREFACE

ANTHOLOGISTS have not yet tamed and uprooted the jungle of English pamphlet literature—which awaits a new generation of explorers. This *Miscellany* is the product of an unadventurous and unmethodical survey along the edge of the forest.

No attempt has been made herein to work to any rigid definition of the words ‘ tract ’ and ‘ pamphlet ’, for the variety and range of the species render definitions nugatory. Insistence upon mere brevity is untenable in face of Prynne’s more than a thousand pages in *Histrio-Mastix,* traditionally a tract. Moreover, in recent times the bulk of a finished publication is often dependent less upon the length of an author’s manuscript than upon the unstable economics of publishing. What in the seventeenth century might have been a twopenny pamphlet, becomes in the twentieth century a spaced-out bound octavo—a book in appearance and cost, yet perhaps a pamphlet in substance and temper. Nor is it possible to accept without qualification the view that the term ‘ pamphlet ’ should be confined to controversial writings of a vaguely particularized class. The examples from Greene, Kemp, Milton, and Gay chosen for this volume are not directly controversial, but

they are clearly members of the pamphlet family. The present collection of tracts and pamphlets is therefore, in the full sense, a miscellany. The only general principles applied were that each piece should relate to some topic of outstanding significance in the life of its period, and that it should have been published in separate form. One departure has been made from the latter rule, however. Johnson's *The Origin and Importance of Fugitive Pieces* is neither a tract nor a pamphlet, but a preface. It has been inserted in the chronological sequence, though it might with fitness serve as the introduction to this collection, and it should be read at this stage. Johnson's essay enables the modern maker of anthologies of pamphlets to dispense with any *apologia,* and the incentives to research which Johnson mentions are still applicable.

The history of tracts and pamphlets in this country can be sketched only in fragmentary outline here. Since printing began (and in written form even before Caxton set up his press) [1] almost every phase of British history has had its attendant spate of pamphlets. To assess these as the merest *ephemerae* of literature is to overlook important factors, and to disregard the many evidences of powerful contemporary influence. Even among the comparatively

[1] As, for example, among the Lollards. See *Wickliffe's Apology* (Camden Society, 1842).

small selection in these pages are several pieces belonging to the early stages of what were to develop as vast historical movements: the English Reformation; the Puritan movement; the Evangelical Revival; American independence; the French Revolution; electoral and industrial reform. Sidelights are thrown, too, upon lesser problems of statecraft as well as upon social life and literary developments. These gadflies of the press often seem harmless enough as we read them in our distant tranquillity, but the irritant force with which they stung at birth is indicated by the punitive laws enacted from time to time against pamphleteering, and also by the upheavals which pamphlets were instrumental in effecting. To modern readers Simon Fish is a name almost forgotten, yet he was without doubt an influential herald of the Reformation in England.

The most famous among pamphlet battles is unrepresented in the body of this *Miscellany*. Except with the aid of excessive annotation no one pamphlet from the series would serve to suggest the bitter ferment aroused by the Martin Marprelate controversy between Protestant (Church of England) and Puritan champions towards the end of the sixteenth century. The first rumblings of trouble were heard after the publication of the Dean of Salisbury's (Dr. John Bridges's) *Defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiastical Matters*, in 1587.

In the following year the Rev. John Udall, a persecuted puritan minister (described after his death, by James I, as 'the greatest scholar in Europe'), issued anonymously *Diotrephes* and *The Demonstration of Discipline*. *Diotrephes* (or *The State of the Church of England*) is described by Mr. Dover Wilson as a notable piece of literature, 'the first and most thoughtful of the puritan pamphlets in the controversy'.[1] It was not over Udall's writings that the full storm of controversy broke, however, but over *The Epistle* by Martin Marprelate, issued together with Udall's *Demonstration* in the early part of November 1588. The puritan authors and their helpers were compelled to maintain close secrecy in producing the seven Martin Marprelate tracts. Their printing-press was carried from place to place up and down the country, resting in turn at East Molesey, Fawsley, Coventry, and Wolston for as long a time as appeared safe, thence passing on to the next chosen location. Though the controversy was in full blast for only about ten months, the reverberations

[1] The history of the Marprelate controversy and discussion of the several theories relating thereto may be followed in William Pierce's *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (Constable, 1908) and *The Marprelate Tracts, 1588, 1589* (James Clarke, 1911); Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* and his reprints of the *Tracts* (English Scholar's Library, 1880, &c.); J. Dover Wilson's 'The Marprelate Controversy' (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. iii, Chap. XVII, 1909) and *Martin Marprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen* (Moring, 1912).

continued long beyond that period, and on the circumference of the main battle whirled satellite disputants favouring neither the one party nor the other—just regarding it as a fight in which anybody could join.

The Epistle began with a title-page in Martin's characteristically exuberant style :

Oh read over Dr John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke :
Or an epitome of the
fyrste Booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of
the noble cleargie, by as worshipful a prieste, John Bridges,
Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Divillitie, and Deane of
Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are
wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes
say something that hath
bene spoken.
Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of
the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt
their Catechismes, and are past grace : By the reverend
and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and
dedicated to the Confocationhouse.
The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when
the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same.
In the meane time, let them be content with
this learned Epistle.
Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges
of M. Marprelate, gentleman.

The Epistle was not, it seems, 'printed oversea', but at the house of Mistress Crane, a puritan enthusiast, at East Molesey, with type surreptitiously carried thither by Robert Waldegrave, a London printer. In consequence of Waldegrave's complicity in the production of earlier puritan tracts, his house near Temple Bar was raided in April 1588, his plant

destroyed, and the whole family left destitute. This is one of the charges brought by Martin Marprelate in *The Epistle.* Addressing the Archbishop of Canterbury, he writes : ‘ Robert Waldegrave dares not show his face, for the bloodthirsty desire you have for his life, only for printing of books which toucheth the Bishops’ mitres. You know that Waldegrave’s printing press and letters were taken away ; his press, being timber, was sawn and hewed in pieces, the ironwork battered and made unserviceable, his letters melted, with cases and other tools defaced (by John Wolf, alias Machiavel, beadle of the Stationers, and most tormenting executioner of Waldegrave’s goods) ; and he himself utterly deprived for ever of printing again ; having a wife and six children. Will this monstrous cruelty never be revenged think you ? ’ The wreckage was not, in fact, so complete as Martin alleges. Waldegrave escaped with a box of letters (type) beneath his cloak, and his wife appears also to have salved odds and ends. The events of the ten months following make a thrilling story, in which detectives, *agents provocateurs,* and mysterious midnight movements appear, with agitated and incensed prelates in the background, supported by jailers, torturers, and executioners. Frowning darkly over all, Elizabeth herself. . . .

A month before the last ‘ Martin ’ was printed the puritan pamphleteers received a fateful blow. In

August 1589 the press and type, ink and paper were stowed in a cart, beneath a load of hay and straw, to be conveyed from Wolston to Warrington. On arrival at Warrington some of the type was spilled during the unloading of the cart, and specimens which fell into the hands of bystanders were passed on to the authorities. Though the printers moved again without delay to Newton Lane, near Manchester, they were tracked and arrested on August 14, while actually printing sheets of a new tract, *More Work for the Cooper.* Before this time Waldegrave had severed himself from the Marprelate group. Henry Hodgkins, the chief of the arrested printers, was sent to London together with his assistants and lodged in Bridewell. When brought before the examining magistrates, Hodgkins was not informative, and was scarcely more so after being repeatedly tortured in the Tower. Detailed statements were elicited from other prisoners, but, their knowledge of the principals being limited, definite proof of the authorship of the pamphlets was unobtainable. The identity of Martin Marprelate has ever since remained a matter of conjecture. Mr. Pierce [1] enumerates eight possible persons, of whom John Penry [2] and Job Throckmorton [3] were for long

[1] *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts.*

[2] A Welsh puritan leader: born 1559; executed 1592.

[3] M.P. for East Retford 1572–83; for Warwick 1586–7. Born 1545; died 1601.

regarded as the most likely. With persuasive ingenuity, however, Mr. Dover Wilson has brought forward a new candidate and makes a strong case for identifying Martin Marprelate with Sir Roger Williams (Shakespeare's original for Fluellen in *Henry V*). Mr. Wilson bases his attribution upon historical, biographical, and stylistic evidence, worked out in scholarly detail. According to his theory Sir Roger Williams wrote the first two Martin Marprelate tracts;[1] part of the third; the fourth; and part of the fifth. In this scheme the sixth tract is assigned to Throckmorton, and the seventh to Penry and Throckmorton jointly. Mr. Wilson also detects additions by both these hands to the third tract, and by Penry's to the fifth.

With this cursory glance at a problem full of attraction the Martin Marprelate controversy must be passed by, and no more than bare reference can be made to the interesting probability that among the pamphleteers enlisted by the anti-puritan opposition were Thomas Nashe and John Lyly.

Already, in the seventeenth century, though obnoxious pamphleteers were tortured and hanged,

[1] The seven completed Martin Marprelate tracts were: (1) *The Epistle*, Nov. 1588; (2) *The Epitome*, Feb. 1589; (3) *The Mineral Conclusions*, Feb. 1589; (4) *Hay any worke for Cooper*, March 1589; (5) *Theses Martinianæ* (Martin Junior), July 1589; (6) *The Just Censure* (Martin Senior), July 1589; (7) *The Protestation*, Sept. 1589.

others more amenable to authority were courted and favoured with semi-official employment; but it was left for eighteenth-century party-leaders to discover the full manœuvring value of a well-drilled squadron of political penmen. Myles Davies wrote, in 1715:[1] 'The Figure Pamphlets make in the World at present is so very considerable, that there seems a kind of necessity laid now-a-days on most People to make their Court to them.' Addison, Steele, Swift, and others were a power behind Parliament, and the allegiance of the army became of hardly greater consequence than the support of Grub Street. Davies enumerates the varieties of information purveyed by pamphlets in his day: 'From Pamphlets may be learn'd the Genius of the Age, the Debates of the Learned, the Follies of the Ignorant, the bevews [*bévues*] of Government, the Oversights of Statesmen, the Mistakes of Courtiers, the different approaches of Foreigners, and the several encroachments of Rivals; in *Pamphlets*, Merchants may read their profit and loss, Shopkeepers their Bills of Parcels, Countrymen their Seasons of Husbandry, Sailors their Longitude, Soldiers their Camps and Enemies; thence School-boys may improve their Lessons, Scholars their Studies, Ministers their Sermons, and Zealots their Devisions. *Pamphlets* furnisht Beau's with their Airs, Coquets with their Charms: Pamphlets

[1] *Icon Libellorum*, or A Critical History of Pamphlets, by A Gentleman of the Inns of Court [Myles Davies].

are as Modish Ornaments to Gentlewomen's Toylets as to Gentlemen's Pockets: Pamphlets carry reputation of Wit and Learning to all that make them their companions : The Poor find their account in Stall-keeping, and in hawking them : The Rich find in them their Shortest Way to the Secrets of Church and State.' The impression thus made of the widespread circulation of pamphlets is much enforced by the magnitude of some extant collections. George Thomason, a bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard (and an acquaintance of Milton, Prynne, and other notables), gathered 14,942 pamphlets relating to the Civil War, Commonwealth, and Restoration period. His library of tracts, now in the British Museum, is in 2,008 volumes containing (with manuscripts and newspapers) a total of 22,225 pieces published between 1640 and 1663. Tracts on witches, wolves in Londonderry, trigonometry, and Sunday observance jostle a multitude of observations on the political turmoil of the period, with digressions upon unrelated matters such as *The Practical Part of Love. Extracts out of the lascivious life of a fair but subtle female* (August 1660).

A sound appreciation of essentials in the art of pamphleteering is shown in Wordsworth's choice of a motto for his tract on the Convention of Cintra. He uses an apposite and pregnant sentence from Bacon : 'Bitter and earnest writing must not be

hastily condemned ; for men cannot contend coldly, and without affection, about things which they hold dear and precious.' The born pamphleteer is commonly a wild and untameable creature, earnest and bitter, holding his ideas and ideals, his fads and fictions, as things dear and precious. Unable to contend coldly, he has no place in the latter-day world, where men and women, fast in the gyves of a polite and politic civilization, choose for the most part to write from the brain, 'without touch and sense of the heart ; as in a speculation that appertaineth not unto them '. In the nineteen-hundreds and thereabout the high-road of letters seemed to be forsaken by the ancient company of pamphleteers. Yet in truth they were still afoot—disguised in the livery of novelists, dramatists, and what not. The Age of Masquerade had begun. Thereafter, houses graduated as *residences* ; charwomen as *lady-helps* ; margarine as *nut-butter* ; pamphleteers as *creative literary artists*. In general, the Masquerade of the Pamphlet demanded little if any apology. For every one reader of *This Misery of Boots*, Mr. H. G. Wells no doubt drew a hundred readers to *Tono-Bungay*, and the success was merited. A masterpiece of fiction, *Tono-Bungay* lost nothing as a novel by being also a repository of challenging pamphlets. For a decade following, H. G. Wells the pamphleteer drove Mr. Wells the novelist hard. The honey of romance around the sociological pill tickled the palate of the

multitude, and many may have benefited by the resultant intellectual purge. Never before, perhaps, had 'ideas' been so widely pervasive; and if the pervasion did often thin out to little more than a superficial smear, it was nevertheless not wholly ineffectual. Others followed the fashion set by Mr. Wells in fiction. Mr. Bernard Shaw worked independently, though with a similar general purpose, in the drama; but after thirty years the dramatist shelved the pamphleteer and produced *Saint Joan.* Mr. Wells's end has been less happy. In *William Clissold* the novelist was swallowed by the pamphleteer, who regurgitated a library of tracts for the times.

The nineteen-twenties have seen a revival of undisguised tracts and pamphlets, but the old spirit is gone. Neither incisive wit nor bland argumentation adequately fills the space left vacant by the dead art of invective. Though the moderns quiver with chill-blooded delight over the malicious urbanity of Mr. Douglas Woodruff,[1] they cannot recapture the ardour of a Simon Fish exorcising holy idle thieves in the kingdom of the bloodsuppers, nor the vitu-

[1] 'And what will you say when I tell you that . . . the Americans are far more plentiful than the subjects of the Great King Himself? There are more than one hundred million Americans.'

After a long pause, Phaelon said rather faintly: 'Why, Socrates?' . . .—*Plato's American Republic* (Kegan Paul, 1926).

perative resource of a Gladstone[1] hurling upon the faintly surprised Turk a rain of ink-charged bolts that burst in a thunder of epithets.

A. C. WARD.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. F. Page and to Mrs. F. J. Ward for indispensable help in collating the texts of the pamphlets and in copying originals ; and to Mr. Charles Williams for services too numerous to catalogue.—A. C. W.

[1] *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, by Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone (Murray, 1876).

A SUPPLICATION FOR THE BEGGARS

BY SIMON FISH

SIMON FISH

Died 1530 ?

A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS

[*c.* 1529. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, the chief source of information concerning Simon Fish, states that he was a gentleman of Gray's Inn, who made himself obnoxious to Wolsey by taking part in a play directed against the Cardinal. To escape persecution on that account, Fish fled from England to the Continent, where he joined Tyndale. There he wrote and printed his *Supplicacyon*. The pamphlet was introduced into England, and circulated extensively, particularly in the streets of London. A copy having reached Henry VIII, through Anne Boleyn, Fish was recalled under protection of a safe-conduct from the king. In view of its evident influence upon both monarch and people, Fish's pamphlet ranks among notable Reformation documents, Sir Thomas More considering it of sufficient importance to warrant the publication of a reply from himself, the *Supplication of Souls*. According to Foxe, Simon Fish died from plague within half a year of his return to England.]

A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS

TO THE KING OVRE SOUEREYGNE LORDE.

MOST lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull mysery vnto youre highnes, youre poore daily bedemen, the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke,) the foule, vnhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore encreased that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine theim, but that for verey constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen by the reason that there is yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent but) of strong puissaunt and counterfeit holy, and ydell beggers and vacabundes whiche syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilinesse of Satan are nowe encreased vnder your sight not onely into a great nombre, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the rauinous wolues going in herdes clothing deuouring the flocke) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell rauinous sort whiche (setting

all laboure a side) haue begged so importunatly that they haue gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this they haue the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calues, lambes, pigges, gese, and chikens. Ouer and bisides the tenth part of euery seruauntes wages the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye and they loke so narowly vppon theyre proufittes that the poore wyues must be countable to theym of euery tenth eg or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester, shalbe taken as an heretike. hereto haue they theire foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgremages, and at theyre first masses? Euery man and childe that is buried must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him or elles they will accuse the dedes frendes and executours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no counceyle) by halowing of churches altares superaltares chapelles and belles, by cursing of men and absoluing theim agein for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yere? Howe moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere, by assityng the people to the commissaries court and afterward releasing thapparaunce for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres whate get they yn a yere? Here if it please your grace to marke ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of Englond .lij. thousand parisshe churches. And this stonding that there be but tenne houshouldes yn euery

parisshe yet are there fiue hundreth thousand and twenty thousand houshouldes. And of euery of these houshouldes hath euery of the fiue ordres of freres a peny a quarter for euery ordre, that is for all the fiue ordres fiue pens a quarter for every house. That is for all the fiue ordres .xx. d, a yere of euery house. Summa fiue hundreth thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels. That is .cclx. thousand half angels. Summa .cxxx. thousand angels. Summa totalis .xliij. thousand poundes and .cccxxxiij. li. vi.s. viij.d. sterling. wherof not foure hundreth yeres passed they had not one peny. Oh greuous and peynfull exactions thus yerely to be paied. from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessours the kinges of the auncient Britons euer stode fre. And this wil they haue or els they wil procure him that will not giue it theim to be taken as an heretike. whate tiraunt euer oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subiectes shall be abill to helpe theire prince that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres blinde sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueile that the taxes fiftenes and subsidies that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people to defend theim from the thretened ruine of theire comon welth haue bin so sloughtfully, ye painfully leuied? Seing that almost the vtmost peny that mought haue bin leuied hath ben gathered bifore yerely by this rauinous cruell and insatiabill generacion. The danes nether the saxons yn the time of the auncient Britons shulde neuer haue ben abill to haue brought theire armies from so farre hither ynto your lond

to haue conquered it if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure if suche yerely exactions had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to haue so long continued at the siege of Troie if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abil to haue put all the hole worlde vnder theyre obeisaunce if theyre people had byn thus yerely oppressed. The Turke nowe yn youre tyme shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to deuoure his substaunce. Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not, So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort vnto the nombre of the laye people and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld haue half. Compare theim to the nombre of men, so are they not the .C. person. Compare theim to men wimen and children, then are they not the .CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part therfore yn foure hundreth partes deuided were to moche for theim except they did laboure. whate an vnequal burthen is it that they haue half with the multitude and are not the .CCCC. parson of theire nombre? whate tongue is abill to tell that euer there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began?

¶ And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy idell

holy theues with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt theim silues from thobedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule power lordishippe auctorite obedience and dignite from your grace vnto theim. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace and be vnder theym. As they did vnto your nobill predecessour king Iohn: whiche forbicause that he wolde haue punisshed certeyn traytours that had conspired with the frenche king to haue deposed him from his crowne and dignite (emong the whiche a clerke called Stephen whome afterward ageinst the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury was one) enterdited his Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stond tributary (not vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell deuelisshe bloudsupper dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) euersins. Here were an holy sort of prelates that thus cruelly coude punisshe suche a rightuous kinge, all his realme, and succession for doing right!

¶ Here were a charitable sort of holy men that coude thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke awey thobedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuousnesse. Here were a blissed sort not of meke herdes but of bloudsuppers that coude set the frenche king vppon suche a rightuous prince to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite to make effusion of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the sheding of the bloude of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite agaynst all

right and conscience had submitted him silf vnto theym. O case most horrible that euer so nobill a king Realme, and succession shulde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloudsuppers. where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become wherby he mought haue done iustice yn this maner ? where was their obedience become that shuld haue byn subiect vnder his highe power yn this mater ? Ye where was the obedience of all his subiectes become that for maintenaunce of the comon welth shulde haue holpen him manfully to haue resisted these bloudsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto theim. Ye and what do they more ? Truely nothing but applie theym silues by all the sleyghtes they may to haue to do with euery mannes wife, euery mannes doughter and euery mannes mayde that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all emong your subiectes, that noman shulde knowe his owne childe that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of euery man to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritaunce yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by theire absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people wherby all the realme at length if it shulde be continued shall be made desert and inhabitable.

¶ These be they that haue made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theym to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme, that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere theym to an other, that be brent

wyth one woman, and bere it to an other, that catche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye some one of theym shall bost emong his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they haue ones drawen mennes wiues to suche incontinency spende awey theire husbondes goodes make the wimen to runne awey from theire husbondes, ye, rynne awey them silues both with wif and goodes, bring both man wife and children to ydelnesse theft and beggeri. Ye who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles occean see full of euilles that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may laufully bring vppon vs vnponisshed. where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignite, become that shuld punisshe (by punisshement of deth euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is theire obedience become that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all to gither translated and exempt from your grace vnto theim? yes truely. whate an infinite nombre of people might haue ben encreased to haue peopled the realme if these sort of folke had ben maried like other men. whate breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by theim? suche truely as was neuer sins the worlde began emong the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ who is she that wil set her hondes to worke to get .iij. d. a day and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day and may haue at lest .xij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies but to cloke the prestes yncontinency and that they may

haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for theire laboure? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery theft and idelnesse whiche shuld haue kept theire good name and haue set theim silues to worke had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie?? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, whiche yn auncient time bifore the coming yn of these rauinous wolues was so prosperous: that then there were but fewe theues: ye theft was at that tyme so rare that Cesar was not compellid to make penalite of deth vppon felony as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people and yet they did not begge but there was giuen theim ynough vnaxed, for there was at that time none of these rauinous wolues to axe it from theim as it apperith yn the actes of thappostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggers, theues, and ydell people? Nay truely.

¶ whate remedy: make lawes ageynst theim. I am yn doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe? whate a nombre of Bisshopes' abbotes' and priours are lordes of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with theim to speake yn your parliament house for theim ageinst your crowne' dignite' and comon welth of your realme a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made ageinst theim that may be aduaylable? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murdre of his auncestre rauisshement of his wyfe, of his doughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or eny other offence dare

ley it to theyre charge by any wey of accion, and if he do then is he by and by by theyre wilynesse accused of heresie. ye they will so handle him or he passe that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure he shal be excommunicate and then be all his accions dasshed. So captyue are your lawes vnto theym that no man that they lyst to excommunicat may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme he hath or the yere go out suche a yoke of heresye leyd in his necke that it maketh him wisshe that he had not done it. Your grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshoppe rageth for endyting of certayn curates of extorcion and incontinency the last yere in the warmoll quest. Had not Richard hunne commenced accyon of premunire ageinst a prest he had bin yet alyue and none eretik at all but an honest man.

¶ Dyd not dyuers of your noble progenitours—seynge theyre crowne and dignite runne ynto ruyne and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myscheuous generacyon—make dyuers statutes for the reformacyon therof, emong whiche the statute of mortmayne was one ? to theintent that after that tyme they shulde haue no more gyuen vnto theim. But whate avayled it ? haue they not gotten ynto theyre hondes more londes sins then eny duke yn ynglond hath, the statute notwithstonding ? Ye haue they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes from your grace half your kyngdome thoroughly ? The hole name as reason is for the auncientie of your kyngdome whiche was bifore theyrs and out of the whiche theyrs is growen onely abiding with your grace ? and of one kyngdome

made tweyne : the spirituall kyngdome (as they call it) for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kingdome. And whiche of these .ij. kingdomes suppose ye is like to ouergrowe the other' ye to put the other clere out of memory ? Truely the kingdome of the bloudsuppers for to theym is giuen daily out of your kingdome. And that that is ones gyuen theim comith neuer from theim agein. Suche lawes haue they that none of theim may nether gyue nor sell nothing. whate lawe can be made so stronge ageinst theim that they other with money or elles with other policy will not breake and set at nought ? whate kingdome can endure that euer gyuith thus from him and receyueth nothing agein ? O howe all the substaunce of your Realme forthwith your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres to be swalowed and devoured.

¶ Nether haue they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes but that they sey they pray for vs to God to delyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori without whose prayer they sey or at lest without the popes pardon we coude neuer be deliuered thens whiche if it be true then is it good reason that we gyue theim all these thinges all were it C times as moche, But there be many men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth haue not feared to put theim silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye yn perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion in this mather whiche is that there is no purgatory but that it is a thing inuented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie

onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto theim and that there is not one word spoken of hit in al holy scripture. They sey also that if there were a purgatory, And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens: he may deliuer him aswel without money: if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand he may deliuer theim all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite if he kepe theim there in pryson and in paine till men will giue him money. ¶ Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritueltie that if they will not pray for no man but for theim that gyue theim money they are tyrauntes and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned vncheritably for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage ageinst, put to open shame and make theim bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar he toke nothing from hym but taught that the highe powers shuld be alweys obeid ye he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all and innocent) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a brode yn your moder tong lest men shulde espie that they by theyre cloked ypochrisi do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and ypochrites,

that thei seke not the honour of Christ but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not giuen by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we haue in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed all is like to runne ynto theire hondes and as long as it is couered so long shall it seme to euery man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue theim. For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue theim as moche as my father did. And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes knightes squire gentilmen and yemen in englond, ye and vntill it be disclosed all your people will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was never made with no good conscience seing that it taketh awey the liberte of your people in that they may not as laufully by theire soules out of purgatory by gyuing to the spiritualte as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

¶ wherfore if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignite let theire ypocrisye be vttered and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punisshe eny offender except it were more for to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt avayle. Did not doctour Alyn most presumptuously nowe yn your tyme ageynst all his allegiaunce all that ever he coude to pull from you the knowlege of suche plees as long vnto your hyghe courtes vnto an other court in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most heynously as all the world knoweth murdre in pryson that

honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunire against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple in a spirituall court for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And whate punisshement was there done that eny man may take example of to beware of lyke offence? truely none but that the one payd fiue hundreth poundes (as it is said to the bildinge of your sterre chamber) and when that payment was ones passed the capteyns of his kingdome (bicause he faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite) haue heped to him benefice vpon benefice so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other as it is said payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices whiche forbicause that he had lyke wise faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice to the value of .iiij. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence seyng the promocions that fill to this men for theyre so offending. So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this croked and peruers generacyon.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of your lawe ye the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is alweys a spirituell man whiche hath euer suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth of the worlde shulde therfore vtterly be

vndone, Here leue we out the gretest mater of all lest that we. declaring suche an horrible carayn of euyll ageinst the ministres of iniquite shulde seme to declare the one onely faute or rather the ignoraunce of oure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse whiche is to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we haue spoken of to knowe it pleynly him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore sike lame and sore bedemen ? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people ? Nay truely. The moo the worse, for euer the fatte of the hole foundacion hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyuers of your noble predecessours kinges of this realme haue gyuen londes to monasteries to giue a certein somme of money yerely to the poore people wherof for the aunciente of the tyme they giue neuer one peny, They haue lyke wise giuen to them to haue a certeyn masses said daily for theim wherof they sey neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundacion .M, monkes were to fewe. wherfore if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs all your poore bedemen, so take from theim all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get theim wiues of theire owne, to get theire liuing with their laboure in the swete of theire faces according to the commaundement of god. Gene. iij. to gyue other idell people by theire example occasion to go to laboure. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure that they by theyre importunate begging take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore impotent miserable people your

bedemen. Then shall aswell the nombre of oure forsaid monstruous sort as of the baudes, hores theues, and idell people decreace. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you haue full obedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased, Then shall your comons encrease in richesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from vs. Then shal we haue ynough and more then shall suffice vs, whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs, Then shall we daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine saluum fac regem.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN

BY JOHN KNOX

JOHN KNOX

1505–72

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTRUOUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN

[1558. Printed at Geneva but probably written at Dieppe in the latter part of 1557, at which time women were occupying the thrones of England, Scotland, and France. Although Knox asserts that Satan inevitably establishes himself as ‘ president of the counsel ’ wherever ‘ a woman reigneth and papists bear authority ’, it was evidently papists rather than women, as women, that inflamed the Scottish Reformer. The Smithfield fires were blazing while he wrote this pamphlet, and distant though he was, the flames flickered in his eyes, their smoke was in his nostrils, and the misdeeds of Bloody Mary worked like madness in his brain. By the middle of 1558, however, Mary of England was dead ; and in the Protestant Elizabeth, Knox discerned a ‘ virtuous and godly ’ queen, to whom he was moved to declare his love and reverence, protesting that he could discover no just occasion why she should look askance at the author of the *First Blast*.]

THE KINGDOME APPERTEINETH TO OVR GOD.

VVONDER it is, that amongest so many pregnant wittes as the Ile of greate Brittanny hath produced, so many godlie and zelous preachers as England did somtime norishe, and amongest so many learned and men of graue iudgement, as this day by Iesabel are exiled, none is found so stowte of courage, so faithfull to God, nor louing to their natiue countrie, that they dare admonishe the inhabitantes of that Ile how abominable before God, is the Empire or Rule of a wicked woman, yea of a traiteresse and bastard. And what may a people or nation left destitute of a lawfull head, do by the authoritie of Goddes worde in electing and appointing common rulers and magistrates. That Ile (alas) for the contempt and horrible abuse of Goddes mercies offred, and for the shamefull reuolting to Satan frome Christ Iesus, and frome his Gospell ones professed, doth iustlie merite to be left in the handes of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion and bondage of strangiers. But yet I feare that this vniuersall negligence of such as somtimes were estemed watchemen, shall rather aggrauate our former ingratitude, then excuse this our vniuersall and vngodlie silence, in so weightie a mater. We se our countrie set

Negligence of watchemen.

furthe for a pray to foreine nations, we heare the blood of our brethren, the membres of Christ Iesus most cruellie to be shed, and the monstruous empire of a cruell woman (the secrete counsel of God excepted) we knowe to be the onlie occasion of all these miseries: and yet with silence we passe the time as thogh the mater did nothinge appertein to vs. But the contrarie examples of the auncient prophetes moue me to doubte of this our fact. For Israel did vniuersalie decline frome God by embrasing idolatrie vnder Ieroboam. In whiche they did continue euen vnto the destruction of their common welthe. And Iuda withe Ierusalem did followe the vile superstition and open iniquitie of Samaria. But yet ceased not the prophetes of God to admonishe the one and the other: Yea euen after that God had poured furthe his plagues vpon them. For Ieremie did write to the captiues of Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainlie instructing them, who did remaine in the middest of that idolatrouse nation. Ezechiel frome the middest of his brethren prisoners in Chaldea, did write his vision to those that were in Ierusalem, and sharplie rebukinge their vices, assured them that they shuld not escape the vengeance of God by reason of their abominations committed.

The diligence of the olde prophetes of God.

1. Reg. 12.

Ezech. 16.

Ierem. 29.

Ezech. 7, 8, 9.

The same prophetes for comfort of the afflicted and chosen saintes of God, who did lie hyd amongest the reprobate of that age (as commonlie doth the corne amongest the chaffe) did prophecie and before speake the changes of kingdomes, the

God alway had his people amongst the wicked, who neuer lacked their prophetes and teachers.

punishmentes of tyrannes, and the vengeance whiche God wold execute vpon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel and the rest of the prophetes euerie one in their season. By whose examples and by the plaine precept, which is geuen to Ezechiel, commanding him that he shall say to the wicked : Thou shalt die the death. We in this our miserable age are bounde to admonishe the world and the tyrannes thereof, of their sodeine destruction, to assure them, and to crie vnto them, whether they list to heare or not. That the blood of the saintes, which by them is shed, continuallie crieth and craueth vengeance in the presence of the Lorde of hostes. And further it is our dutie to open the truthe reueled vnto vs, vnto the ignorant and blind world, vnlest that to our owne condemnation we list to wrap vp and and hyde the talent committed to our charge. I am assured that God hath reueled to some in this our age. that it is more then a monstre in nature, that a woman shall reigne and haue empire aboue man. And yet with vs all, there is suche silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The naturall man, ennemy to God shall fynd, I knowe, many causes why no suche doctrine oght to be published in these our dangerous dayes. First, for that it may seme to tend to sedition : secondarilie, it shal be dangerous not onlie to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall reade the writinges, or fauor this truth spoken : and last it shall not amend the chief offenders, partlie because it shall neuer come to their eares, and partlie because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, yf any of these be a sufficient reason that a

Isaie 13.
Ierem. 46.
Ezech. 36.

Examples what teachers oght to do in this time.

Ezech. 2.
Apoca. 6.

Thre chef reasons, that do stay man from speaking the truthe.

truth knowen shalbe conceled, then were the auncient prophetes of God very fooles, who did not better prouide for their owne quietnes, then to hasard their liues for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes, as were not knowen to the world, And Christ Iesus did iniurie to his Apostles, commanding them to preache repentance and remission of synnes in his name to euerie realme and nation. And Paule did not vnderstand his owne libertie, when he cried, wo be to me, if I preache not the Euangile. Yf
feare, I say, of persecution, of sclander,
1. Cor. 9. or of any inconuenience before named
might have excused, and discharged the seruantes
Mat. 26. of God, from plainlie rebuking the sinnes
Act. 18, 21. of the world, iuste cause had euerie one
of them to haue ceased frome their office. For sodeinlie their doctrine was accused by termes of sedition, of newe learning, and of treason : persecution and vehement trouble did shortlie come vpon
Psalm. 2. the professours with the preachers :
Act. 4. kinges, princes and worldlie rulers did
conspire against God and against his anoynted Christ Iesus. But what ? Did any of these moue the prophetes and Apostles to faynt in their vocation ? no. But by the resistance, whiche the deuill made to them by his supportes, were they the more inflamed to publishe the truthe reueled vnto them and to witnesse with their blood, that greuous condemnation and Goddes heuie vengeance shuld folowe the proude contempt of graces offred. The fidelitie, bold courage, and constancie of those that are passed before vs, oght to prouoke vs to folowe their footsteppes, onles we loke for an other kingdome then Christ hath promised to such as perseuere in profession of his name to the end. Yf any think that

the empire of women, is not of such importance, that for the suppressing of the same, any man is bounde to hasarde his life, I answer, that to suppresse it, is in the hand of god alone. But to vtter the impietie and abomination of the same, I say, it is the dutie of euerie true messager of God, to whome the truth is reueled in that behalfe. For the especiall dutie of Goddes messagers is to preache repentance, to admonishe the offenders of their offenses, and to say to the wicked, thou shalt die the death, except thou repent. This, I trust, will no man denie to be the propre office of all Goddes messagers to preache (as I haue said) repentance and remission of synnes. But nether of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and conuicted of transgression. For howe shall any man repent not knowing wher in he hath offended? And where no repentance is founde, there can be no entrie to grace. And therfore I say, that of necessitie it is, that this monstriferouse empire of women, (which amongest all enormities, that this day do abound vpon the face of the hole earth, is most detestable and damnable) be openlie reueled and plainlie declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saued. And thus farre to the first sorte.

It is necessarie for euerie man to open the impietie, whiche he knoweth to hurt his common welth.

No man can repent except he knowe his synne.

To such as thinke that it will be long before such doctrine come to the eares of the chief offenders, I answer that the veritie of God is of that nature, that at one time or at other, it will pourchace to it selfe audience. It is an odour and smell, that can not be suppressed, yea it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the aduersarie. It will compell the verie ennemies to

The propertie of Goddes truth.

their own confusion, to testifie and beare witnesse of it. For I finde that the prophecie and preaching of Heliseus was declared in the hall of the king of Syria by the seruantes and flatterers of the same wicked king, making mention that Heliseus declared to the king of Israel, what so euer the said king of Syria spake in his most secret chamber. And the wonderous workes of Iesus Christ were notified to Herode, not in any greate praise or commendation of his doctrine, but rather to signifie that Christ called that tyranne a fox: and that he did no more regarde his authoritie then did Iohn the Baptist, whom Herode before had beheaded for the libertie of his tonge. But whether the bearers of the rumors and tidinges were fauourers of Christ or flatterers of the tyranne, certein it is that the fame, as well of Christes doctrine, as of his workes came to the eares of Herod: euen so may the sounde of our weake trumpet, by the support of some wynd (blowe it from the south or blowe it from the northe it is no mater) come to the eares of the chief offenders. But whether it do or not, yet dare we not cease to blowe as God will giue strength. For we are debters to mo then to princes, to witte, to the multitude of our brethren, of whome, no doubte a greate nomber haue here to fore offended by errour and ignorance, geuing their suffragies, consent and helpe to establishe women in their kingdomes and empires, not vnderstanding howe abominable, odious and detestable is all such vsurped authoritie in the presence of God. And therfore must the truthe, be plainlie spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished.

2. Reg. 6.

Mat. 14.

Rom. 1.

The ignorant multitude hath set vp the authoritie of women not knowinge the danger.

And as concerning the danger, which may hereof insue, I am not altogither so brutishe and insensible, but that I haue laid mine accompt what the finishinge of the worke may coste me for mine own parte.

A very dangerous thing to speake against olde errors.

First, I am not ignorant howe difficile and dangerous it is to speake against a common error, especiallie when that the ambitious mindes of men and women are called to the obedience of goddes simple commandement. For to the most parte of men, laufull and godlie appeareth, what soeuer antiquitie hath receiued. And secondarilie, I looke to haue mine aduersaries not onlie of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, politike, and quiet spirites of this worlde, so that aswell shall suche as oght to mainteine the truth and veritie of God become ennemies to me in this case, as shall the princes and ambitious persons, who to mainteine their vniust tyrannie do alwayes studie to suppresse the same. And thus I am most certeinlie persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many.

Accomptes will be had of Goddes giftes.

But because I remembre that accõmptes of the talentes receiued must be made to him, who nether respecteth the multitude, nether yet approueth the wisdome, policie, peace, nor antiquitie, concluding or determining any thinge against his eternall will reueled to vs in his moste blessed worde, I am compelled to couer myne eyes, and shut vp myne eares, that I nether se the multitude, that shall withstand me in this mater, nether that I shall heare the opprobries, nor consider the dangers, which I may incurre for vttering the same. I shalbe called foolishe, curious despitefull, and a sower of sedition : and one day parchance (althogh now I be nameles) I may be attainted of treason.

But seing that impossible it is, but that ether I shall offend God, dailie calling to my conscience, that I oght to manifest the veritie knowen, or elles that I shall displease the worlde for doing the same, I haue determined to obey God, not withstanding that the world shall rage therat. I knowe that the world offended (by Goddes permission) may kill the bodie, but Goddes maiestie offended, hath power to punishe bodie and soule for euer. His maiestie is offended, when that his preceptes are contemned, and his threatninges estemed to be of none effect. And amongest his manifold preceptes geuen to his prophetes, and amongest his threatninges, none is more vehement, then is that, which is pronounced to Ezechiel in these wordes: Sonne of man, I haue appointed the a watchman to the house of Israel, that thou shuldest heare from my mouthe the worde, and that thou maist admonishe them plainlie, when I shall say to the wicked man: O wicked, thou shalt assuredlie die. Then if thou shalt not speake, that thou maist plainlie admonishe him, that he may leaue his wicked way, the wicked man shall die in his iniquitie, but his blood will I requier of thy hand. But and if thou shalt plainlie admonishe the wicked man, and yet he shall not turne from his way, such a one shall die in his iniquitie, but thou hast deliuered thy soule.

The cause mouing the author to write.

Ezech. 33.

This precept, I say, with the threatning annexed, togither with the rest, that is spoken in the same chapter, not to Ezechiel onlie, but to euerie one, whom God placeth whatchmen ouer his people and flocke, (and watchmen are they whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonishe the vngodlie) compelleth me to vtter my

conscience in this mater, notwithstanding that the hole worlde shuld be offended with me for so doing. Yf any wonder, why I do concele my name, let him be assured, that the feare of corporall punishement is nether the onlie, nether the chef cause. My purpose is thrise to blowe the trumpet in the same mater, if God so permitte: twise I intende to do it without name, but at the last blast, to take the blame vpon my selfe, that all others may be purged.

For the Authors name.

THE FIRST BLAST
TO AWAKE WOMEN
DEGENERATE.

TO promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire aboue any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reueled will and approued ordinance, and finallie it is the subuersion of good order, of all equitie and iustice.

In the probation of this proposition, I will not be so curious, as to gather what soeuer may amplifie, set furth, or decore the same, but I am purposed, euen as I haue spoken my conscience in most plaine and fewe wordes, so to stand content with a simple proofe of euerie membre, bringing in for my witnesse Goddes ordinance in nature, his plaine will reueled in his worde, and the mindes of such as be moste auncient amongest godlie writers.

And first, where that I affirme the empire of a woman to be a thing repugnant to nature, I meane not onlie that God by the order of his creation hath spoiled woman of authoritie and dominion, but also that man hath seen, proued and pronounced iust causes why that it so shuld be. Man, I say, in many other cases blind, doth in this behalfe see verie clearlie. For the causes be so manifest, that they can not be hid. For who can denie but it repugneth to nature, that the blind shal be appointed

to leade and conduct such as do see? That the weake, the sicke, and impotent persones shall norishe and kepe the hole and strong, and finallie, that the foolishe, madde and phrenetike shal gouerne the discrete, and giue counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be al women, compared vnto man in bearing of authoritie. For their sight in ciuile regiment, is but blindnes: their strength, weaknes: their counsel, foolishenes: and iudgement, phrenesie, if it be rightlie considered.

Causes why women shuld not haue preeminence ouer men.

I except such as God by singular priuiledge, and for certein causes knowen onlie to him selfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speake of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe: and experience hath declared them to be vnconstant, variable, cruell and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. And these notable faultes haue men in all ages espied in that kinde, for the whiche not onlie they haue remoued women from rule and authoritie, but also some haue thoght that men subiect to the counsel or empire of their wyues were vn worthie of all publike office. For this writeth Aristotle in the seconde of his Politikes: what difference shal we put, saith he, whether that women beare authoritie, or the husbandes that obey the empire of their wyues be appointed to be magistrates? For what insueth the one, must nedes folowe the other, to witte, iniustice, confusion and disorder. The same author further reasoneth, that the policie or regiment of the Lacedemonians (who other wayes

Priuate examples do not breake the generall ordinance.

2 Politicorum Aristotelis.

amongest the Grecians were moste excellent) was not worthie to be reputed nor accompted amongest the nombre of common welthes, that were well gouerned, because the magistrates, and rulers of the same were to muche geuen to please and obey their wyues. What wolde this writer (I pray you) haue said to that realme or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in parliament amongest the middest of men. Oh fearefull and terrible are thy iudgementes (o Lord) whiche thus hast abased man for his iniquitie! I am assuredlie persuaded that if any of those men, which illuminated onelie by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient, why women oght not to beare rule nor authoritie, shuld this day liue and see a woman sitting in iudgement, or riding frome parliament in the middest of men, hauing the royall crowne vpon her head, the sworde and sceptre borne before her, in signe that the administration of iustice was in her power: I am assuredlie persuaded, I say, that suche a sight shulde so astonishe them, that they shuld iudge the hole worlde to be transformed into Amazones, and that suche a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that countrie, as poetes do feyn was made of the companyons of Vlisses, or at least, that albeit the owtwarde form of men remained, yet shuld they iudge that their hartes were changed frome the wisdome, vnderstanding, and courage of men, to the foolishe fondnes and cowardise of women. Yea they further shuld pronounce, that where women reigne or be in authoritie, that there must nedes vanitie be preferred to vertue, ambition and pride

Reade Isaie the thirde chaptre.

Amazones were monstruouse women, that coulde not abide the regiment of men, and therfore killed their husbandes. reade Iustine.

to temperancie and modestie, and finallie, that auarice the mother of all mischefe must nedes deuour equitie and iustice. But lest that we shall seme to be of this opinion alone, let vs heare what others haue seen and decreed in this mater. In the rules of the lawe thus it is written: Women are remoued from all ciuile and publike office, so that they nether may be iudges, nether may they occupie the place of the magistrate, nether yet may they be speakers for others. The same is repeted in the third and in the sextenth bokes of the digestes: Where certein persones are forbidden, *Ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor aduocates for others. And among the rest are women forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefastnes intermedle them selues with the causes of others, nether yet that women presume to vse the offices due to men. The lawe in the same place doth further declare, that a naturall shamfastnes oght to be in womankind, whiche most certeinlie she loseth, when soeuer she taketh vpon her the office and estate of man. As in Calphurnia was euidentlie declared, who hauing licence to speake before the senate, at length became so impudent and importune, that by her babling she troubled the hole assemblie. And so gaue occasion that this lawe was established.

Arist. 2. Politic.

Lib. 50. de regulis iuris.

what women may not be.

3. 16. lib. Digestorum.

Ad Senatus-consul. Velleianum.

Lib. 3. de postulatione, Tit. 1.

Calphurnia.

In the first boke of the digestes, it is pronounced that the condition of the woman in many cases is worse then of the man. As in iurisdiction (saith the lawe) in receiuing of cure and tuition, in adoption, in

De statu hominum Titul. 8.

Frome women power is taken

away by the Ciuile lawe ouer their own children.

publike accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherlie power, which she hath not vpon her owne sonnes. The lawe further will not permit, that the woman geue any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kinde, being the inferiour membre to presume to geue any thing to her head. The lawe doth more ouer pronounce womankinde to be the most auaricious (which is a vice intolerable in those that shulde rule or minister iustice). And Aristotle, as before is touched, doth plainly affirme, that wher soeuer women beare dominion, there must nedes the people be disorded, liuinge and abounding in all intemperancie, geuen to pride, excesse, and vanitie. And finallie in the end, that they must nedes come to confusion and ruine.

Dig. lib. 24. de donatione inter virum et fœminam.

women be couetous therfore vnmete gouernors.

Lib. 1. Digest. de legib. et senatuscon Titul. 3.

Politic. 2.

England and Scotland beware.

Wold to god the examples were not so manifest, to the further declaration of the imperfections of women, of their naturall weaknes, and inordinat appetites. I might adduce histories, prouing some women to haue died for sodein ioy, some for vnpaciencie to haue murthered them selues, some to haue burned with such inordinat lust, that for the quenching of the same, they haue betrayed to strangiers their countrie and citie: and some to haue bene so desirous of dominion, that for the obteining of the same, they haue murthered the children of their owne sonnes. Yea and some haue killed with crueltie their owne husbandes and children. But to me it is

Great imperfections of women.

Romilda the wife of Gisulphus betrayed to Cacanus the dukedome of friaul in Italie.

Iane quene of Naples hanged her husband.

Athalia, 4. Reg. 11.

Hirene, Antonia Sabell.

sufficient (because this parte of nature is not my moste sure foundation) to haue proued, that men illuminated onlie by the light of nature, haue seen and haue determined, that it is a thing moste repugnant to nature, that women rule and gouerne ouer men. For those that will not permit a woman to haue power ouer her owne sonnes, will not permit her (I am assured) to haue rule ouer a realme: and those that will not suffer her to speake in defense of those that be accused, nether that will admit her accusation intended against man, will not approuel her, that she shal sit in iudgement crowned with the royal crowne, vsurping authoritie in the middest of men. But now to the second part of nature: In the whiche I include the reueled will and perfect ordinance of God, and against this parte of nature, I say, that it doth manifestlie repugne that any woman shal reigne or beare dominion ouer man. For God first by the order of his creation, and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman, by the reason of her rebellion, hath pronounced the contrarie. First, I say, that woman in her greatest perfection, was made to serue and obey man, not to rule and command him: As saint Paule doth reason in these wordes. Man is not of the woman but the woman of the man. And man was not created for the cause of the woman, but the woman for the cause of man, and therfore oght the woman to haue a power vpon her head (that is a couerture in signe of subiection). Of whiche words it is plaine that the Apostle meaneth, that woman in her greatest perfection shuld haue knowen, that man was Lord aboue her: and therfore

If the lesse thinges be denied to women, the greater cannot be granted.

woman in her greatest perfection was made to serue man.

1. Cor. 11.

that she shulde neuer haue pretended any kind of superioritie aboue him, no more then do the angels aboue God the creator, or aboue Christ Iesus their head. So, I say, that in her greatest perfection woman was created to be subiect to man. But after her fall and rebellion committed against God, their was put vpon her a newe necessitie, and she was made subiect to man by the irreuocable sentence of God, pronounced in these wordes : I will greatlie multiplie thy sorowe and thy conception. With sorowe shalt thou beare thy children, and thy will shall be subiect to thy man : and he shal beare dominion ouer the. Herebie may such as altogither be not blinded plainlie see, that God, by his sentence, hath deiected all woman frome empire and dominion aboue man. For two punishmentes are laid vpon her, to witte, a dolor, anguishe and payn, as oft as euer she shal be mother ; and a subiection of her selfe, her appetites and will, to her husband, and to his will. Frome the former parte of this malediction can nether arte, nobilitie, policie, nor lawe made by man, deliuer womankinde, but who soeuer atteineth to that honour to be mother, proueth in experience the effect and strength of goddes word. But (alas) ignorance of God, ambition, and tyrannie haue studied to abolishe and destroy the second parte of Goddes punishment. For women are lifted vp to be heades ouer realmes, and to rule aboue men at their pleasure and appetites. But horrible is the vengeance, which is prepared for the one and for the other, for the promoters, and for the persones promoted, except they spedelie

A good comparison.

A newe necessity of womans subiection.

woman by the sentence of God, subiect to man.

Gene. 3.

The punishement of women vniustlie promoted and of their promoters.

repent. For they shall be deiected from the glorie of the sonnes of God, to the sclauerie of the deuill, and to the torment that is prepared for all suche, as do exalte them selues against God. Against God can nothing be more manifest, then that a woman shall be exalted to reigne aboue man. For the contrarie sentence hath he pronounced in these wordes: Thy will shall be subiect to thy husband, and he shall beare dominion ouer the. As God shuld say: forasmuch as thou hast abused thy former condition, and because thy free will hath broght thy selfe and mankind in to the bondage of Satan, I therfore will bring the in bondage to man. For where before, thy obedience shuld haue bene voluntarie, nowe it shall be by constreint and by necessitie: and that because thou hast deceiued thy man, thou shalt therfore be no longar maistresse ouer thine own appetites, ouer thine owne will nor desires. For in the there is nether reason nor discretion, whiche be able to moderate thy affections, and therfore they shall be subiect to the desire of thy man. He shall be Lord and gouernour, not onlie ouer thy bodie, but euen ouer thy appetites and will. This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against *Heua*, and her daughters, as the rest of the Scriptures doth euidentlie witnesse. So that no woman can euer presume to reigne aboue man, but the same she must nedes do in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and malediction.

Gene. 3.

Let all women take hede.

I am not ignorant, that the most part of men do vnderstand this malediction of the subiection of the wife to her husband, and of the dominion, which he beareth aboue her: but the holie ghost geueth to vs an other interpretation of this place, taking from all women all kinde of

Answer to an obiection.

superioritie, authoritie and power ouer man, speaking as foloweth, by the mouth of saint Paule.
1 Tim. 2. I suffer not a woman to teache, nether yet to vsurpe authoritie aboue man. Here he nameth women in generall, excepting none, affirming that she may vsurpe authoritie aboue no man. And that he speaketh more plainlie, in an other place in these wordes: Let women kepe silence in the
1. Cor. 14. congregation, for it is not permitted to them to speake, but to be subiect as the lawe sayeth. These two testimonies of the holy ghost, be sufficient to proue what soeuer we have affirmed before, and to represse the inordinate pride of women, as also to correct the foolishnes of those that haue studied to exalt women in authoritie aboue man, against God, and against his sentence pronounced. But that the same two places of the apostle may the better be vnderstand: it is to be noted, that in the latter, which is written in the first epistle to the Corinthes the 14. chapitre, before the apostle had permitted that all persones shuld prophecie one after an other: addinge this reason: that all may learne and all may receiue consolation. And lest that any might haue iudged, that amongest a rude multitude, and the pluralitie of speakers, manie, thinges litle to purpose might haue bene affirmed, or elles that some confusion might haue risen: he addeth, the spirites of the prophetes are subiect to the prophetes: As he shuld say, God shall alwayes raise vp some, to whome the veritie shalbe reueled, and vnto such ye shal geue place, albeit they sit in the lowest seates. And thus the apostle wold haue prophecying an exercise to be free to the hole churche, that euerie one shuld communicate with the congregation, what God had

reueled to them, prouidinge that it were orderlie done. But frome this generall priuiledge he secludeth all woman, sayinge : let women kepe silence in the congregation. And why I pray you ? was it because that the apostle thoght no woman to haue any knowledge ? no he geueth an other reason, saying ; let her be subiect as the lawe saith. In which wordes is first to be noted, that the apostle calleth this former sentence pronounced against woman a lawe, that is, the immutable decree of God, who by his owne voice hath subiected her to one membre of the congregation, that is to her husband. wherupon the holie ghost concludeth, that she may neuer rule nor bear empire aboue man. For she that is made subiect to one, may neuer be preferred to many, and that the holie ghoste doth manifestlie expresse, saying : I suffer not that women vsurpe authoritie aboue man : he sayth not, I will not, that woman vsurpe authoritie aboue her husband, but he nameth man in generall, taking frome her all power and authoritie, to speake, to reason, to interprete, or to teache, but principallie to rule or to iudge in the assemblie of men. So that woman by the lawe of God, and by the interpretation of the holy ghost, is vtterly forbidden to occupie the place of God in the offices afore said, which he hath assigned to man, whome he hath appointed and ordeined his lieutenant in earth : secluding frome that honor and dignitie all woman, as this short argument shall euidentlie declare.

Frome a generall priuilege is woman secluded.

She that is subiect to one, may not rule many.

The apostle taketh power frome all woman to speake in the assemblie. *Ergo* he permitteth no woman to rule aboue man. The former parte is euident, whereupon doth the

A strong argument.

conclusion of necessitie folowe. For he that taketh from woman the least parte of authoritie, dominion or rule, will not permit vnto her that whiche is greatest: But greater it is to reigne aboue realmes and nations, to publish and to make lawes, and to commande men of all estates, and finallie to appoint iudges and ministers, then to speake in the congregation. For her iudgement, sentence, or opinion proposed in the congregation, may be iudged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godlie. But woman being promoted in souereine authoritie, her lawes must be obeyed, her opinion folowed, and her tyrannie mainteined: supposing that it be expreslie against God, and the prophet of the common welth, as to manifest experience doth this day witnesse. And therfore yet againe I repete that, whiche before I haue affirmed: to witt, that a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is, to teache, to iudge or to reigne aboue man, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. For he hath depriued them as before is proued, of speakinge in the congregation, and hath expreslie forbidden them to vsurpe any kinde of authoritie aboue man. Howe then will he suffer them to reigne and haue empire aboue realmes and nations? He will neuer, I say, approue it, because it is a thing most repugnant to his perfect ordinance, as after shalbe declared, and as the former scriptures haue plainlie geuen testimonie. To the whiche, to adde any thing were superfluous, were it not that the worlde is almost nowe comen to that blindnes, that what soeuer pleaseth not the princes and the multitude, the same is reiected as doctrine newelie forged, and is condemned for herésie. I

NOTE.

haue therfore thoght good to recite the mindes of some auncient writers in the same mater, to the end that suche as altogither be not blinded by the deuil, may consider and vnderstand this my iudgement to be no newe interpretation of Goddes scriptures, but to be the vniforme consent of the most parte of godlie writers, since the time of the apostles. Tertullian in his boke of womens apparell, after that he hath shewed many causes why gorgious apparell is abominable and odiouse in a woman, addeth these wordes, speaking as it were to euery woman by name : Dost thou not knowe (saith he) that thou art Heua ? the sentence of God liueth and is effectuall against this kind, and in this worlde of necessity it is, that the punishment also liue. Thou art the porte and gate of the deuil. Thou art the first transgressor of goddes law. thou diddest persuade and easely deceiue him whome the deuil durst not assault. For thy merit (that is for thy death) it behoued the son of god to suffre the death, and doth it yet abide in thy mind to decke the aboue thy skin coates ? By these and many other graue sentences, and quicke interrogations, did this godlie writer labour to bring euerie woman in contemplation of her selfe, to the end that euerie one depelie weying, what sentence God had pronounced against the hole race and doughters of Heua, might not onely learne daily to humble and subiect them selues in the presence of God, but also that they shulde auoide and abhorre what soeuer thing might exalte them or puffe them vp in pride, or that might be occasion, that they shuld forget the curse and malediction of God. And what, I pray you, is more able to cause woman to

Tertullian de habitu mulierum.

Let women hearken what Tertullian an olde Doctor saith.

forget her owne condition, then if she be lifted vp in authoritie aboue man? It is a thing verie difficile to a man, (be he neuer so constant) promoted to honors, not to be tickled some what with pride (for the winde of vaine glorie doth easelie carie vp the drie dust of the earth). But as for woman, it is no more possible, that she being set aloft in authoritie aboue man, shall resist the motions of pride, then it is able to the weake reed, or to the turning wethercocke, not to bowe or turne at the vehemencie of the vnconstant wind. And therfore the same writer expreslie forbiddeth all woman to intremedle with the office of man. For thus he writeth in his book *de virginibus velandis*: It is not permitted to a woman, to speake in the congregation, nether to teache, nether to baptise, nether to vendicate to her selfe any office of man. The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the preface of his sixte boke writen against Marcion, where he recounting certein monstruous thinges, whiche were to be sene at the sea called *Euxinum*, amongest the rest, he reciteth this as a greate monstre in nature, that women in those partes, were not tamed nor embased by consideration of their own sex and kind: but that all shame laide a parte, they made expenses vpon weapons and learned the feates of warre, hauinge more pleasure to fight, then to mary and be subiect to man. Thus farre of Tertullian, whose wordes be so plain, that they nede no explanation. For he that taketh from her all office apperteining to man, will not suffre her to reigne aboue man: and he that iudgeth it a monstre in nature, that a woman shall exercise weapons, must iudge it to be a monstre of monstres,

NOTE.

Tertull. lib. 8. de virginibus velandis.

In proœmio 6. lib. contra Marcionem.

that a woman shalbe exalted aboue a hole realme and nation. Of the same minde is Origen, and diuers others. Yea euen till the dayes of Augustine, whose sentences I omit to auoide prolixitie.

Augustine in his 22. boke writen against Faustus, proueth that a woman oght to serue her husband as vnto God: affirming that in no thing hath woman equall power with man, sauing that nether of both haue power ouer their owne bodies. By whiche he wold plainlie conclude, that a woman oght neuer to pretend nor thirst for that power and authoritie which is due to man. For so he doth explane him selfe in an other place, affirming that woman oght to be repressed and brideled be times, if she aspire to any dominion: alledging that dangerous and perillous it is to suffre her to procede, althogh it be in temporall and corporall thinges. And therto he addeth these wordes: God seeth not for a time, nether is there any newe thinge in his sight and knowledge, meaninge therby, that what God hath sene in one woman (as concerning dominion and bearing of authoritie) the same he seeth in all. And what he hath forbidden to one, the same he also forbiddeth to all. And this most euidentlie yet in an other place he writeth, mouing this question: howe can woman be the image of God, seing (saith he) she is subiect to man, and hath none authoritie, nether to teache, nether to be witnesse, nether to iudge, muche lesse to rule, or beare empire? These be the verie wordes of Augustine, of which it is euident that this godlie writer, doth not onelie agree withe Tertullian before reciteḍ, but also with the former sentence of the lawe,

August. lib. 22. contra Faustum, c. 31.

De Trinitat. lib. 12 cap. 7.

In quæst. veteris Testamenti, quæst. 45.

NOTE.

whiche taketh frome woman not onelie all authoritie amongest men, but also euerie office apperteining to man. To the question howe she can be the image of God, he answereth as foloweth. Woman (saith he) compared to other creatures is the image of God, for she beareth dominion ouer them: but compared vnto man, she may not be called the image of God, for she beareth not rule and lordship ouer man, but oght to obey him &c. And howe that woman oght to obey man, he speaketh yet more clearlie in these words: the woman shalbe subiect to man as vnto Christ. For woman (saith he) hath not her example frome the bodie and from the fleshe, that so she shalbe subiect to man, as the fleshe is vnto the spirite. Because that the flesh in the weaknes and mortalitie of this life, lusteth and striueth against the spirit, and therfore wold not the holie ghost geue example of subiection to the woman of any suche thing &c. This sentence of Augustine oght to be noted of all women, for in it he plainlie affirmeth, that woman oght to be subiect to man, that she neuer oght, more to desire preeminence aboue him, then that she oght to desire aboue Christe Iesus.

Lib. de Continentia, cap. 4.

With Augustine agreeth in euerie point S. Ambrose, who thus writeth in his Hexaemeron: Adam was deceiued by Heua, and not Heua by Adam, and therfore iust it is, that woman receiue and acknowledge him for gouernor whom she called to sinne, lest that again she slide and fall by womanlie facilitie. And writing vpon the epistle to the Ephesians, he saith: let women be subiect to their owne husbandes as vnto the Lorde: for the man is heade to the woman, and Christ is heade to the congrega-

Ambros. in Hexaemero lib. 5. c. 7.

Cap. 5.

tion, and he is the sauiour of the bodie: but the congregation is subiect to Christ, euen so oght women to be to their husbandes in all thinges. He procedeth further saying: women are commanded to be subiect to men by the lawe of nature, because that man is the author or beginner of the woman: for as Christ is the head of the churche, so is man of the woman. From Christ, the church toke beginning, and therfore it is subiect vnto him: euen so did woman take beginning from man, that she shuld be subiect. Thus we heare the agreing of these two writers to be such, that a man might iudge the one to haue stolen the wordes and sentences from the other. And yet plain it is, that duringe the time of their writinge, the one was farre distant frome the other. But the holie ghost, who is the spirite of concorde and vnitie, did so illuminate their hartes, and directe their tonges, and pennes, that as they did conceiue and vnderstand one truth, so did they pronounce and vtter the same, leauing a testimonie of their knowledge and concorde to vs their posteritie. If any thinke that all these former sentences, be spoken onelie of the subiection of the maryed woman to her husband, as before I haue proued the contrarie, by the plain wordes and reasoning of S. Paule, so shal I shortlie do the same, by other testimonies of the forsaid writers. The same Ambrose writing vpon the second chapitre of the first epistle to Timothie, after he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women: he addeth these wordes: woman oght not onelie to haue simple arrayment, but all authoritie is to be denied vnto her: for she must be in subiection to man (of whome she hath taken her originall) aswell in habit as in seruice. And after a fewe wordes

Ambros. super. 2. c. 1. epist. ad Timoth.

he saith: because that death did entre in to the world by her, there is no boldenes that oght to be permitted vnto her, but she oght to be in humilitie. Hereof it is plain, that frome all woman, be she maried or vnmaried, is all authoritie taken to execute any office, that apperteineth to man. Yea plain it is that all woman is commanded, to serue, to be in humilitie and subiection. Whiche thing yet speaketh the same writer, more plainlie in these wordes. It is not permitted to women to speake, but to be in silence, as the lawe saith. What saith the lawe? Vnto thy husband, shall thy conuersion be, and he shall beare dominion ouer the. This is a speciall lawe (saith Ambrose) whose sentence, lest it shulde be violated, infirmed, or made weake, women are commanded to be in silence. Here he includeth all women. And yet he procedeth further in the same place saying: It is shame for them to presume to speake of the lawe in the house of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be subiect to their men. But moste plainly speaketh he writing vpon the 16. chapitre of the epistle of S. Paule to the Romaines, vpon these wordes: Salute Rufus and his mother. For this cause (saith Ambrose) did the apostle place Rufus before his mother, for the election of the administration of the grace of God, in the whiche a woman hath no place. For he was chosen and promoted by the Lorde, to take care ouer his busines, that is, ouer the churche, to the whiche office could not his mother be appointed, albeit she was a woman so holie, that the apostle called her his mother. Hereof it is plaine that the administration of the grace of God, is denied to all

Ambros. in 1. epist. ad Corin. cap. 14.

Genes. 3.

whose house I pray you oght the parliament house to be, Goddes or the deuilles?

Rufus is by S. Paul saluted before his mother.

woman. By the administration of Goddes grace, is vnderstand not onely the preaching of the worde and administration of the sacramentes, by the whiche the grace of God is presented and ordinarilie distributed vnto man, but also the administration of ciuile iustice, by the whiche, vertue oght to be mainteined, and vices punished. The execution wherof is no lesse denied to woman, then is the preaching of the Euangile, or administration of the sacramentes, as herafter shall most plainlie appeare.

Chrysostome amongest the Grecian writers of no small credit, speaking in rebuke of men, who in his dayes, were becomen inferior to some women in witt and in godlines, saith: for this cause was woman put vnder thy power (he speaketh to man in generall) and thou wast pronounced Lorde ouer her, that she shulde obey the, and that the head shuld not folowe the feet. But often it is, that we see the contrary, that he who in his ordre oght to be the head, doth not kepe the ordre of the feet (that is, doth not rule the feet) and that she, that is in place of the foote, is constitute to be the head. He speaketh these wordes as it were in admiration, that man was becomen so brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing most monstruouse, that woman shulde be preferred to man in any thing, whom God had subiected to man in all thinges. He procedeth saying: Neuer the lesse it is the parte of the man, with diligent care to repel the woman, that geueth him wicked counsel: and woman, whiche gaue that pestilent counsel to man, oght at all times to haue the punishment, whiche was geuen to Heua, sounding in her eares. And in an other

Chrysost. homil. 17. in genes.

NOTE.

place he induceth God speaking to the woman in this sorte: Because thou left him, of whose nature thou wast participant, and for whome thou wast formed, and hast had pleasure to haue familiaritie with that wicked beast, and wold take his counsel: therfore I subiect the to man, and I apointe and affirme him to be thy Lorde, that thou maist acknowledge his dominion, and because thou couldest not beare rule learne well to be ruled. Why they shulde not beare rule, he declareth, in other places, saying: womankinde is imprudent and soft, (or flexible) imprudent because she can not consider withe wisdome and reason the thinges which she heareth and seeth: and softe she is, because she is easelie bowed. I knowe that Chrysostome bringeth in these wordes to declare the cause why false prophetes do commonlie deceiue women: because they are easelie persuaded to any opinion, especiallie if it be against God, and because they lacke prudence and right reason to iudge the thinges that be spoken. But hereof may their nature be espied, and the vices of the same, whiche in no wise oght to be in those, that are apointed to gouerne others: For they oght to be constant, stable, prudent and doing euerie thing with discretion and reason, whiche vertues women can not haue in equalitie with men. For that he doth witnesse in an other place, saying: women haue in them selues a tickling and studie of vaine glorie, and that they may haue common with men: they are sodeinlie moued to anger, and that they haue also common with some men. But vertues in which they excell, they haue

Homil. 15 in Genes.

God graunt all womens hartes to vnderstand and folow this sentence.

In Mat. cap. 23. homil. 44.

woman can not haue vertue in equalitie with man.

Ad Ephe. cap. 4. sermone 13.

NOTE.

not common with man, and therfore hath the apostle remoued them from the office of teachinge, which is an euident proof that in vertue they farre differ frome man. Let the reasons of this writer be marked, for further he yet procedeth : after that he hath in many wordes lamented the effeminate maners of men, who were so farre degenerate to the weaknes of women, that some might haue demanded : why may not women teache amongest suche a sorte of men, who in wisdome and godlines are becomen inferior vnto women ? He finallie concludeth : that not withstanding that men be degenerate, yet may not women vsurpe any authoritie aboue them, and in the end, he addeth these wordes : These thinges do not I speake to extolle them (that is women) but to the confusion and shame of our selues, and to admonish vs to take again the dominion, that is mete and conuenient for vs, not onelie that power which is according to the excellencie of dignitie : but that which is accordinge to prouidence, and according to helpe, and vertue. For then is the bodie in best proportion, when it hath the best gouernor. O that both man and woman shulde consider the profound counsel and admonition of this father ! He wolde not that man for appetit of any vaine glorie shuld desire preeminence aboue woman. For God hath not made man to be heade for any suche cause : but hauing respecte to that weaknes and imperfection which alwayes letteth woman to gouerne. He hath ordeined man to be superior, and that meaneth Chrysostome, saying : then is the bodie in best proportion, when it hath the best gouernor. But woman can neuer be the best gouernor, by reason

The body lackinge the head, can not be well gouerned nether can common welth lackinge man.

that she being spoiled of the spirit of regiment, can neuer attein to that degree, to be called or iudged a good gouernor. Because in the nature of all woman, lurketh suche vices, as in good gouernors are not tolerable. Which the same writer expresseth in these wordes: womankind (saith he) is rashe and foolhardie, and their couetousnes is like the goulf of hell, that is, insaciable. And therfore in an other place, he will that woman shall haue no thing to do in iudgement, in common affaires, or in the regiment of the common welth, because she is impacient of troubles, but that she shall liue in tranquillitie, and quietnes. And if she haue occasion to go frome the house, that yet she shal haue no matter of trouble, nether to folowe her, nether to be offered vnto her, as commonlie there must be to such as beare authoritie: And with Chrysostome fullie agreeth Basilius Magnus in a sermon which he maketh vpon some places of scripture, wherin he reproueth diuers vices and amongest the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tendre creature, flexible, soft and pitifull: whiche nature, God hath geuen vnto her, that she may be apt to norishe children. The which facilitie of the woman, did Satan abuse, and therby broght her frome the obedience of God. And therfore in diuers other places doth he conclude, that she is not apt to beare rule, and that she is forbidden to teache. Innumerable mo testimonies, of all sortes of writers may be adduced for the same purpose, but withe these I stand content: iudgeing it sufficient to stoppe the mouthe of such as accuse and condemne all doctrine, as hereticall, which displeaseth them in any point that I haue proued, by

In ca. 22. Ioh. homil. 87.

In Ioh. homil. 41.

Basilius Mag. in aliquot scripturæ locos.

the determinations and lawes of men illuminated onelie by the light of nature, by the ordre of Goddes creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman, by the mouth of saint Paule, who is the interpreter of Goddes sentence, and lawe, and finallie by the mindes of those writers, who in the church of God, haue bene alwayes holden in greatest reuerence: that it is a thing moste repugnant to nature, to Goddes will and apointed ordinance, (yea that it can not be without contumelie committed against God) that a woman shuld be promoted to dominion or empire to reigne ouer man, be it in realme, nation, prouince or citie. Now resteth it in few wordes, to be shewed, that the same empire of women is the subuersion of good ordre equitie and iustice.

Augustine defineth ordre to be that thing, by the whiche God hath appointed and ordeined all thinges. Note well reader, that Augustine will admit no ordre, where Goddes apointment is absent and lacketh.

De ordine lib. 1 c. 10.

And in an other place he saith, that ordre is a disposition, geuing their owne propre places to thinges that be vnequall, which he termeth in Latin *Parium et disparium*, that is, of thinges equall or like, and thinges vnequall or vnlike. Of whiche two places and of the hole disputation, which is conteined in his second boke *de ordine*, it is euident, that what soeuer is done ether whithout the assurance of Goddes will, or elles against his will manifestlie reueled in his word, is done against ordre. But suche is the empire and regiment of all woman (as euidentlie before is declared) and therfore, I say, it is a thing plainlie repugnant

De ciuit. Dei, lib. 19 cap. 13.

what soeuer is done withowt the appointment of Goddes will, is done withowt ordre.

to good ordre, yea it is the subuersion of the same. If any list to reiect the definition of Augustin, as ether not propre to this purpose, or elles as insufficient to proue mine intent: let the same man vnderstand, that in so doinge, he hath infirmed mine argument nothinge. For as I depend not vpon the determinations of men, so think I my cause no weaker, albeit their authoritie be denied vnto me. Prouided that god by his will reueled, and manifest worde, stand plain and euident on my side. That God hath subiected womankinde to man by the ordre of his creation, and by the curse that he hath pronounced against her is before declared.

Two mirrors, in which we may beholde the ordre of nature.

Besides these, he hath set before our eyes, two other mirrors and glasses, in whiche he will, that we shulde behold the ordre, which he hath apointed and established in nature: the one is, the naturall bodie of man: the other is the politik or ciuile body of that common welth, in which God by his own word hath apointed an ordre. In the natural body of man God hath apointed an ordre, that the head shall occupie the vppermost place. And the head hath he ioyned with the bodie, that frome it, doth life and motion flowe to the rest of the membres. In it hath he placed the eye to see, the eare to hear, and the tonge to speake, which offices are apointed to none other membre of the bodie. The rest of the membres, haue euery one their own place and office apointed: but none may haue nether the place nor office of the heade. For who wolde not iudge that bodie to be a monstre, where there was no head eminent aboue the rest, but that the eyes were in the handes, the tonge and mouth beneth in the belie, and the eares in the feet. Men, I say, shulde not onlie pronounce

this bodie to be a monstre: but assuredlie they might conclude that such a bodie coulde not long indure. And no lesse monstruous is the bodie of that common welth, where a woman beareth empire. For ether doth it lack a laufull heade (as in very dede it doth) or els there is an idol exalted in the place of the true head. An idol I call that, which hath the forme and apparance, but lacketh the vertue and strength, which the name and proportion do resemble and promise. As images haue face, nose, eyes, mouth, handes and feet painted, but the vse of the same, can not the craft and art of man geue them: as the holy ghost by the mouth of Dauid teacheth vs, saying: they haue eyes, but they see not, mouth, but they speake not, nose, but they smell not, handes and feet, but they nether touche nor haue power to go. And suche, I say, is euerie realme and nation, where a woman beareth dominion. For in despite of God (he of his iust iudgement, so geuing them ouer in to a reprobat minde) may a realme, I confesse, exalt vp a woman to that monstriferous honor, to be estemed as head. But impossible it is to man and angel, to geue vnto her the properties and perfect offices of a laufull heade. For the same God that hath denied power to the hand to speake, to the bely to heare, and to the feet to see, hath denied to woman power to commande man, and hath taken away wisdome to consider, and prouidence to forsee the thinges, that be profitable to the common welth: yea finallie he hath denied to her in any case to be head to man: but plainly hath pronounced that man is head to woman, euen as Christ is heade to all man. If men

Common welthes vnder the rule of women, lacke a laufull heade.

Idol.

Psal. 115.

The empire of a woman is an idol.

in a blinde rage shulde assemble to gether and apointe them selues an other heade then Iesus Christ (as the papistes haue done their romishe Antichrist) shuld Christ therfore lose his owne dignitie, or shulde God geue that counterfet head power to geue life to the bodie, to see what soeuer might endamage or hurte it, to speake in defense, and to heare the request of euerie subiect? It is certein that he wold not. For that honor he hath apointed before all times to his onelie sonne: and the same will he geue to no creature besides: no more will he admit, nor accept woman to be the lauful head ouer man, althogh man, deuil, and angel will coniure in their fauor. For seing he hath subiected her to one (as before is saide) he will neuer permit her to reigne ouer manie. Seing he hath commanded her to heare, and obey one, he will not suffre that she speake, and with vsurped authoritie command realmes and nations. Chrysostome explaning these wordes of the apostle: (the heade of woman is man) compareth God in his vniuersall regiment to a king sitting in his royall maiestie, to whome all his subiectes commanded to geue homage and obedience, appeare before him, bearing euerie one suche a badge and cognisance of dignitie and honor, as he hath geuen to them: which if they despise and contemne, then do they dishonor their king. Euen so saith he oght man and woman to appeare before God, bearing the ensignes of the condition, whiche they haue receiued of him. Man hath receiued a certein glorie and dignitie aboue the woman, and therfore oght he to appeare before his high maiestie, bearing the signe of his honor, hauinge no couerture vpon his heade:

1. Cor. 11.

NOTE.

1. Cor. 11.

Marke the similitude of Chrysostome.

to witnesse that in earth man hath no head, (beware Chrysostome what thou saist, thou shalt be reputed a traytor if Englishe men heare the: for they must haue my souereine lady and maistresse, and Scotland hath dronken also the enchantment and venom of Circes, let it be so to their owne shame and confusion, he procedeth in these wordes) but woman oght to be couered, to witnesse, that in earth she hath a head, that is man. Trewe it is (Chrysostome) woman is couered in both the said realmes, but it is not with the signe of subiection, but it is with the signe of superioritie, to witt, with the royal crowne. To that he answereth in these wordes: what if man neglect his honor? he is no lesse to be mocked (saith Chrysostome) then if a king shulde depose himself of his diademe or crowne and royal estat, and cloth him self in the habit of a sclaue. What, I pray you, shulde this godlie father haue saide, if he had sene all the men of a realme or nation fall downe before a woman? If he had sene the crowne, sceptre, and sworde, whiche are ensignes of the royall dignitie, geuen to her, and a woman cursed of God, and made subiecte to man, placed in the throne of iustice, to sit as Goddes lieutenant? What, I say, in this behalfe, shuld any hart vnfeinedlie fearing God haue iudged of suche men? I am assured that not onlie shulde they haue bene iudged foolishe but also enraged, and sclaues to Satan, manifestlie fighting against God and his apointed ordre. The more that I consider the subuersion of Goddes ordre, which he hath placed generallie in all liuinge thinges, the more I do wondre at the blindnes of man, who doth not consider him self in this case so

NOTE.

Howe women be couered in England and Scotland.

degenerate, that the brute beastes are to be preferred vnto him in this behalfe. For nature hath in all beastes printed a certein marke of dominion in the male, and a certeine subiection in the female, whiche they kepe inuiolate. For no man euer sawe the lion make obedience, and stoupe before the lionesse, nether yet can it be proued, that the hinde taketh the conducting of the heard amongest the hartes. And yet (alas) man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion apointed to him ouer woman, doth not onlie to his own shame, stoupe vnder the obedience of women, but also in despit of God and of his apointed ordre, reioyseth, and mainteineth that monstruouse authoritie, as a thing lauful and iust. The insolent ioy, the bonefiers, and banketing which were in london and els where in England, when that cursed Iesabell was proclaimed qwene, did witnesse to my hart, that men were becomen more then enraged. For els howe coulde they so haue reioysed at their owne confusion and certein destruction? For what man was there of so base iudgement (supposing that he had any light of God) who did not see the erecting of that monstre, to be the ouerthrowe of true religion, and the assured destruction of England, and of the auncient liberties therof? And yet neuer the lesse, all men so triumphed, as if God had deliuered them frome all calamitie.

Brute beastes to be preferred.

Insolent ioy bringeth sodein sorowe.

But iust and rightuouse, terrible and fearfull are thy iudgements, o Lorde! For as some times thou diddest so punishe men for vnthankfulnes, that man ashamed not to commit villanie withe man; and that because, that knowinge the to be God, they glorified the not as God, euen so

Rom. 1.

haste thou moste iustlie nowe punished the proude rebellion and horrible ingratitude of the realmes of England and Scotland. For when thou diddest offre thy selfe moste mercifullie to them both, offering the meanes by the whiche they might haue bene ioyned together for euer in godly concorde: then was the one proude and cruel, and the other vnconstant, and fikle of promise. But yet (alas) did miserable England further rebell against the. For albeit thou diddest not cease to heape benefit vpon benefit, during the reigne of an innocent and tendre king, yet no man did acknowledge thy potent hand and meruelouse working.

what robbed God of his honor in England in the time of the Gospell.

The stoute courage of capitaines, the witte and policie of counselers, the learning of bishoppes, did robbe the of thy glorie and honor. For what then was heard, as concerning religion, but the kinges procedinges, the kinges procedinges must be obeyed? It is enacted by parliament: therefore it is treason to speake in the contrarie. But this was not the end of this miserable tragedie. For thou diddest yet procede to offre thy fauors, sending thy prophetes and messagers, to call for reformation of life in all estates: For euen frome the highest to the lowest, all were declined frome the (yea euen those that shuld haue bene the lanterns to others) some I am assured did qwake and tremble, and frome the botome of their hartes thirsted amendment, and for the same purpose did earnestly call for discipline.

Goddes benefites shewed to England.

But then brust forth the venome which before lurked; then might they not conteine their despiteful voices, but with open mouthes did crie: we will not haue suche a one to reigne ouer vs.

Discipline refused in England.

Then, I say, was euerie man so stoute, that he wolde not be broght in bondage : no not to the, ô Lord, but with disdein did the multitude cast frome them the amiable yoke of Christ Iesus. No man wolde suffre his sinne to be rebuked, no man wolde haue his life called to triall. And thus did they refuse the, ô Lorde, and thy sonne Christ Iesus to be their pastor, protector and prince. And therfore hast thou geuen them ouer in to a reprobat minde. Thou hast taken from them the spirit of boldnes, of wisdome and of rightuous iudgement. They see their owne destruction, and yet they haue no grace to auoide it. Yea they are becomen so blinde, that knowing the pit, they headlong cast them selues into the same ; as the nobilitie of England, do this day, fighting in the defense of their mortall ennemie the spaniard. Finallie they are so destitute of vnderstanding and iudgement, that althogh they knowe that there is a libertie and fredome, the whiche their predecessors haue inioyed ; yet are they compelled to bowe their neckes vnder the yoke of Satan, and of his proude ministres, pestilent papistes and proude spaniardes. And yet can they not consider that where a woman reigneth and papistes beare authoritie, that there must nedes Satan be president of the counsel. Thus hast thou, ô Lorde, in thy hote displeasure reuenged the contempt of thy graces offred. But, ô Lord, if thou shalt reteine wrath to the end, what fleshe is able to susteine? We haue sinned, ô Lord, and are not worthy to be releued. But worthy art thou, ô Lord, to be a true God, and worthy is thy sonne Christ Iesus, to haue his Euangil and glorie aduanced : whiche both are troden vnder foot in

The nobilitie and the hole realme of England, caste themselues willingly in to the pit.

Confession.

this cruell murther and persecution, whiche the builders of Babylon commit in their furie, haue raised against thy children, for the establishing of their kingdome. Let the sobbes therfore of thy prisoners, ô Lord, passe vp to thine eares, consider their affliction : and let the eyes of thy mercie looke downe vpon the blood of such as die for testimonie of thy eternal veritie : and let not thine ennemies mocke thy iudgement for euer. To the, ô Lorde, I turne my wretched and wicked hart : to the alone I direct my complaint and grones : for in that Ile to thy saintes there is left no comfort. Albeit I haue thus (talkinge with my God in the anguishe of my harte) some what digressed : yet haue I not vtterlie forgotten my former proposition, to witt, that it is a thing repugnant to the ordre of nature, that any woman be exalted to rule ouer men. For God hath denied vnto her the office of a heade. And in the intreating of this parte, I remembre that I haue made the nobilitie both of England and Scotland inferior to brute beastes, for that they do to women, which no male amongest the common sorte of beastes can be proued to do their females : that is, they reuerence them, and qwake at their presence, they obey their commandementes, and that against God. Wherfore I iudge them not onelie subiectes to women, but sclaues of Satan, and seruantes of iniquitie. If any man thinke these my wordes sharpe or vehement, let him consider that the offense is more haynous, than can be expressed by wordes. For where all thinges, be expressedly concluded against the glorie and honor of God, and where the blood of the saintes of God is commanded to be shed, whome shall we iudge, God or the deuil, to be president of that

NOTE.

counsel ? Plain it is, that God ruleth not by his loue, mercie, nor grace in the assembly of the vngodlie. Then it resteth, that the deuil, the prince of this worlde, doth reigne ouer suche tyrannes, whose seruantes, I pray you, shal then be iudged, such as obey, and execute, their tyrannie ? God for his great mercies sake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceiue in to what miserable bondage they be broght, by the monstriferous empire of women.

NOTE.

The seconde glasse, whiche God hath set before the eyes of man, wherein he may beholde the ordre, whiche pleaseth his wisdome, concerning authoritie and dominion, is that common welth, to the whiche it pleaseth his maiestie to apoint, and geue lawes, statutes, rites and ceremonies not onelie concerninge religion, but also touching their policie and regiment of the same. And against that ordre it doth manifestly repugne, that any woman shall occupie the throne of God, that is, the royall seate, whiche he by his worde hath apointed to man. As in geuing the lawe to Israel, concerning the election of a king, is euident.

Deut. 17.

For thus it is writen : If thou shalt say, I will apoint a king aboue me, as the rest of the nations, whiche are aboute me : Thou shalt make the a kinge, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose, one frome amongest the middest of thy bretheren, thou shalt apointe kinge aboue the. Thou maist not make a strangier that is not thy brother. Here expressedly is a man apointed to be chosen king, and a man natiue amongest them selues, by whiche precept is all woman and all strangier secluded. What may be obiected for the parte or election of a strangier, shalbe, God willinge, answered

in the blast of the second trumpet. For this present, I say, that the erecting of a woman to that honor, is not onely to inuert the ordre, which God hath established: but also it is to defile, pollute and prophane (so farre as in man lieth) the throne and seat of God, whiche he hath sanctified and apointed for man onely, in the course of this wretched life, to occupie and possesse as his ministre and lieutenant: secluding from the same all woman, as before is expressed. If any thinke the fore writen lawe did binde the Iewes onelie, let the same man consider, that the election of a kinge, and apointing of iudges, did nether apperteine to the ceremoniall lawe, nether yet was it mere iudiciall: but that it did flowe frome the morall lawe, as an ordinance, hauing respect to the conseruation of both the tables. For the office of the magistrate oght to haue the first and chief respect to the glorie of God, commanded and conteined in the former table, as is euident by that, whiche was inioyned to Iosue by God, what time he was accepted and admitted ruler and gouerner ouer his people, in these wordes: Thou shalt diuide the inheritance to this people, the whiche I haue sworne to their fathers, to geue vnto them: so that thou be valiant and strong, that thou maist kepe and do, according to that hole lawe, whiche my seruant Moses hath commanded the. Thou shalt not decline frome it, nether to the right hande, nether to the left hand, that thou maist do prudentlie in all thinges, that thou takest in hand, let not the boke of this lawe departe from thy mouth, but meditate in it, day and night: that thou maist

God hath apointed man his ministre and lieutenant.

Answer to an obiection.

The election of a king floweth frome the moral lawe.

Iosue. 1.

kepe and do, according to euery thing, that is writen in it. For then shall thy wayes prosper, and then shalt thou do prudently &c. And the same precept geueth God by the mouth of Moses, to kinges, after they be elected, in these wordes: when he shal sit in the throne or seate of his kingdome, he shall write to him self a copie of this lawe in a boke, and that shalbe with him, that he may reade in it all the dayes of his life, that he may learne to feare the Lorde his God, and to kepe all the wordes of this lawe, and all these statutes, that he may do them &c. Of these two places it is euident, that principallie it apperteineth to the king or to the chief magistrate, to knowe the will of God, to be instructed in his lawe and statutes, and to promote his glorie with his hole hart and studie, which be the chief pointes of the first table. No man denieth, but that the sworde is committed to the magistrate, to the end that he shulde punishe vice, and mainteine vertue. To punishe vice I say, not onelie that, whiche troubleth the tranquillitie and quiet estat of the common welth by adulterie, theft or murther committed, but also suche vices as openly impugne the glorie of God: as idolatrie, blasphemie, and manifest heresie, taught and obstinatly mainteined: as the histories and notable actes of Ezechias, Iosaphat, and Iosias do plainlie teache vs. Whose study and care was not onlie to glorifie God in their own life and conuersation, but also they vnfeinedlie did trauel to bring subiectes to the true worshipping and honoring of God. And did destroye all monumentes of idolatrie, did punishe to deathe the teachers of it, and remoued frome office and honors suche, as were

Rulers shuld take hede to this.

Deut. 17.

what vices magistrates oght to punishe.

mainteiners of those abominations. Wherbie I suppose that it be euident, that the office of the king or supreme magistrate, hath respect to the lawe moräll, and to the conseruation of both the tables.

Nowe if the lawe morall, be the constant and vnchangeable will of God, to the which the gentil is no lesse bounde, then was the Iewe; and if God will that amongest the gentiles, the ministres and executors of his lawe be nowe apointed, as somtimes they were apointed amongest the Iewes: further if the execution of iustice be no lesse requisite in the policie of the gentiles, then euer it was amongest the Iewes: what man can be foolishe to suppose or beleue, that God will nowe admit those persons, to sit in iudgement or to reigne ouer men in the common welth of the gentiles, whom he by his expressed word and ordinance, did before debarre and seclude from the same? And that women were secluded from the royall seate, the which oght to be the sanctuarie to all poore afflicted, and therfore is iustlie called the seat of god (besides the place before recited of the election of a king, and besides the places of the newe testament, whiche be moste euident) the ordre and election which was kept in Iuda and Israel, doth manifestlie declare. For when the males of the kinglie stocke failed, as oft as it chaunced in Israel and sometimes in Iuda, it neuer entered in to the hartes of the people to chose and promote to honors any of the kinges doughters, (had he neuer so many) but knowing Goddes vengeance to be poured furth vpon the father by the away taking of his sonnes, they had no further respect to his stocke, but elected suche one man or other, as they iudged most apt

NOTE. The gentil no lesse bounde to the lawe moral then the Iewe.

NOTE.

for that honor and authoritie. Of whiche premisses, I conclude (as before) that to promote a woman heade ouer men, is repugnant to nature, and a thinge moste contrarious to that ordre, which God hath approued in that common welth, whiche he did institute and rule by his worde. But nowe to the last point, to wit, that the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to iustice, and the destruction of euerie common welth, where it is receiued. In probation whereof, because the mater is more then euident, I will vse fewe wordes. First, I say, if iustice be a constant and perpetuall will to geue to euerie person, their own right (as the moste learned in all ages haue defined it to be) then to geue, or to will to geue to any person, that whiche is not their right, must repugne to iustice. But to reigne aboue man, can neuer be the right to woman: because it is a thinge denied vnto her by God, as is before declared. Therfore to promote her to that estat or dignitie, can be no thing els but repugnancie to iustice. If I shulde speake no more, this were sufficient, For except that ether they can improue the definition of iustice, or els that they can intreate God to reuoke and call backe his sentence pronounced against woman, they shalbe compelled to admit my conclusion. If any finde faute with iustice, as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt. For I haue the shield, the weapon, and the warrant of him, who assuredlie will defend this quarel, and he commandeth me to crie:

The first argument that the authoritie of women repugneth to iustice.

What soeuer repugneth to the will of god expressed in his most sacred worde, repugneth to iustice: but that women haue authoritie ouer men repugneth to the will of God expressed in

The second argument.

his worde: and therfore mine author commandeth me to conclude without feare, that all suche authoritie repugneth to iustice. The first parte of the argument I trust dare nether Iewe nor gentile denie: for it is a principle not onelie vniuersallie confessed, but also so depelie printed in the hart of man, be his nature neuer so corrupted, that whether he will or no, he is compelled at one time or other, to acknowledge and confesse, that iustice is violated, when thinges are done against the will of God, expressed by his worde. And to this confession are no lesse the reprobate coacted and constrained, then be the chosen children of god, albeit to a diuers end.

Nature doth confesse that repugnancie to Goddes will is iniustice.

the elect with displeasure of their facte, confesse their offense, hauing accesse to grace and mercie, as did Adam, Dauid, Peter, and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobat, not withstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be iust the which they haue offended, yet are they neuer inwardlie displeased, with their iniquitie, but rage, complain and storme against God, whose vengeance they can not escape: as did Cain, Iudas, Herode, Iulian called apostata, Yea Iesabel, and Athalia. For Cain no doubte was conuict in conscience, that he had done against iustice in murthering of his brother. Iudas did openlie, before the high priest confesse that he had sinned, in betraying innocent blood. Herode being stricken by the angel, did mocke those his flaterers, saying vnto them: beholde your God (meaning of him selfe) can not nowe preserue him self frome corruption and wormes. Iulianus was compelled in the end to crie, O galilean (so alwayes in contempt

Howe the reprobat confesse Goddes will to be iust.

Genes. 4.

Mat. 27.

did he name our sauiour Iesus Christ) thou hast nowe ouercomen. And who doubteth but Iesabel, and Athalia, before their miserable end, were conuicted in their cankered consciences, to acknowledge that the murther, which they had committed, and the empire whiche the one had six yeares vsurped, were repugnant to iustice: Euen so shall they I doubt not, whiche this daye do possesse and mainteine that monstriferous authoritie of women, shortlie be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and deuises, haue bene bent against God: and that all such authoritie as women haue vsurped, repugneth to iustice, because, as I haue saide, it repugneth to the will of God expressed in his sacred worde. And if any man doubte herof, let him marke wel the wordes of the apostle, saying: I permit not a woman to teache, nether yet to vsurpe authoritie aboue man. No man I trust will denie these wordes of the apostle, to be the wil of God expressed in his worde: and he saith openlie, I permit not &c. Which is asmuch as, I will not, that a woman haue authority, charge or power ouer man, for so much importeth the greke word αὐθεντεῖν in that place. Nowe let man and angell conspire against God, let them pronounce their lawes, and say, we will suffre women to beare authoritie, who then can depose them? yet shall this one worde of the eternal God spoken by the mouth of a weake man, thruste them euerie one in to hell. Iesabel may for a time slepe quietlie in the bed of her fornication and hoordome, she may teache and deceiue for a season: but nether shall she preserue her selfe, nether yet her adulterous children frome greate affliction, and frome the sworde of Goddes ven-

womans authoritie bringeth furth monstres.

1. Tim. 2.

Apoca. 2.

geance, whiche shall shortlie apprehend suche workes of iniquitie. The admonition I differe to the end.

Here might I bring in the oppression and iniustice, which is committed against realmes and nations, whiche some times liued free, and now are broght in bondage of forein nations, by the reason of this monstriferous authoritie and empire of women. But that I delay till better oportunitie. And now I think it expedient to answer such obiections, as carnal and worldlie men, yea men ignorant of God, vse to make for maintenance of this tyrannie (authoritie it is not worthie to be called) and most vniuste empire of woman.

Iudic. 4. Para. 3
The defenses of the aduersaries.

First they do obiect the examples of Debora, and of Hulda the prophetesse, of whom the one iudged Israel, and the other, by all apparance, did teache and exhorte.

Num. 27.

Secondarily they do obiect the lawe made by Moses for the doughters of zalphead. Thirdlie the consent of the estates of such realmes as haue approued the empire and regiment of women. And last the long custome, which hath receiued the regiment of women. Their valiant actes and prosperitie, together with some papistical lawes, which haue confirmed the same.

Answer to the first obiection.

To the first, I answer, that particular examples do establishe no common lawe. The causes were knowen to God alon, why he toke the spirite of wisdome and force frome all men of those ages, and did so mightely assist women against nature, and against his ordinarie course: that the one he made a deliuerer to his afflicted people Israel: and to the other he gaue not onlie perseuerance in the true religion, when the moste parte of men had declined from the same, but also to her he gaue the

spirit of prophecie, to assure king Iosias of the thinges which were to come. With these women, I say, did God worke potentlie, and miraculouslie, yea to them he gaue moste singular grace and priuiledge. But who hath commanded, that a publike, yea a tyrannicall and moste wicked lawe be established vpon these examples? The men that obiect the same, are not altogether ignorant, that examples haue no strength, when the question is of lawe. As if I shuld aske, what mariage is laufull? and it shulde be answered that laufull it is to man, not onelie to haue manie wiues at ones, but also it is laufull to marie two sisters, and to enioye them both liuing at ones, because that Dauid, Iacob, and Salomon, seruantes of God did the same. I trust that no man wold iustifie the vanitie of this reason. Or if the question were demanded, if a Christian, with good conscience may defraude, steale or deceiue: and answer were made that so he might by the example of the Israelites, who at Goddes commandement, deceiued the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garmentes, golde and syluer. I thinke likewise this reason shuld be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Debora did rule in Israel, and Hulda spoke prophecie in Iuda: *Ergo* it is laufull for women to reigne aboue realmes and nations, or to teache in the presence of men. The consequent is vain and of none effect. For of examples, as is before declared, we may establishe no lawe, but we are alwayes bounde to the lawe writen, and to the commandement expressed in the same. And the lawe writen and pronounced by God, forbiddeth no lesse that any woman reigne ouer man, then it

Examples against lawe have no strength when the question is of lawe.

NOTE.

forbiddeth man to take pluralitie of wiues, to mary two sisters liuing at ons, to steale, to robbe, to murther or to lie. If any of these hath bene transgressed, and yet God hath not imputed the same: it maketh not the like fact or dede lawfull vnto vs. For God being free, may for suche causes as be approued by his inscrutable wisdome, dispense with the rigor of his lawe, and may vse his creatures at his pleasure. But the same power is not permitted to man, whom he hath made subiect to his lawe, and not to the examples of fathers. And this I thinke sufficient to the reasonable and moderate spirites. But to represse the raging of womans madnes, I will descend somwhat deeper in to the màter, and not feare to affirme: that as we find a contrarie spirit in all these moste wicked women, that this day be exalted in to this tyrannouse authoritie, to the spirite that was in those godly matrons: so I feare not, I say, to affirme, that their condition is vnlike, and that their end shalbe diuers. In those matrones we finde that the spirit of mercie, truthe, iustice and of humilitie did reigne. Vnder them we finde that God did shewe mercie to his people, deliuering them frome the tyrannie of strangiers, and from the venom of idolatrie by the handes and counsel of those women: but in these of our ages, we finde crueltie, falshed, pride, couetousnes, deceit, and oppression. In them we also finde the spirit of Iesabel, and Athalia, vnder them we finde the simple people oppressed, the true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christes membres most cruellie shed. And finallie by their practises and deceit, we finde auncient realmes and nations geuen and betrayed in to the

Antithesis betwixt the former matrones, and our Iesabelles.

handes of strangiers, the titles and liberties of them taken frome the iuste possessors. Which one thinge is an euident testimonie, howe vnlike our mischeuous Maryes be vnto Debora, vnder whome were strangiers chased owt of Israel, God so raising her vp to be a mother and deliuerer to his oppressed people. But (alas) he hath raised vp these Iesabelles to be the vttermoste of his plagues, the whiche mans vnthankfulnes hath long deserued. But his secret and most iust iudgement, shal nether excuse them, neither their mainteiners, because their counsels be diuers. But to prosecute my purpose, let such as list to defend these monstres in their tyrannie, proue first, that their souereine maistresses be like to Debora in godlines and pitie: and secondarilie, that the same successe doth folowe their tyrannie, which did folowe the extraordinarie regiment of that godlie matrone. Which things althogh they were able to do (as they neuer shalbe, let them blowe til they brust) yet shall her example profet them nothing at all. For they are neuer able to proue that ether Debora, or any other godlie woman (hauing the commendation of the holie ghoste within the scriptures) hath vsurped authoritie aboue any realme or nation, by reason of their birth and blood. Nether yet did they claime it by right or inheritance: but God by his singular priuiledge, fauor, and grace, exempted Debora from the common malediction geuen to women in that behalf: and against nature he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happie in regiment, and a blessed mother and deliuerer to his people. The whiche he did partlie

NOTE.

NOTE.

No godlie woman did euer claime authoritie ouer man by reason of her birth and blood.

to aduance and notifie the power of his maiestie as well to his ennemies, as to his owne people: in that he declared himself able to geue saluation and deliuerance, by meanes of the moste weake vesselles: and partlie he did it to confound and ashame all man of that age, because they had for the moste part declined frome his true obedience. And therfore was the spirit of courage, regiment, and boldnes taken from them for a time to their confusion and further humiliation. But what maketh this for Mary and her matche Phillippe? One thing I wold aske of suche as depend vpon the example of Debora, whether she was widowe or wife, when she iudged Israel, and when that God gaue that notable victorie to his people vnder her? If they answer she was widowe, I wold lay against them the testimonie of the holie ghost, witnessinge that she was wife to Lapidoth. And if they will shift, and alledge, that so she might be called, notwithstanding that her husband was dead, I vrge them further, that they are not able to proue it to be any common phrase and maner of speache in the scriptures, that a woman shall be called the wife of a dead man, except that there be some note added, wherbie it may be knowen that her husband is departed, as is witnessed of *Anna*. But in this place of the iudges, there is no note added, that her husband shuld be dead, but rather the expressed contrarie. For the text saith: In that time a woman named Debora a prophetesse, wife to Lapidoth iudged Israel. The holie ghost plainlie speaketh, that what time she iudged Israel, she was wife to Lapidoth. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I aske why did she

why God sometimes worketh by extraordinarie meanes.

Iudic. 4.

Luc. 2.

Iudic. 4.

NOTE.

not preferre her husband to that honor to be capitain, and to be leader to the host of the Lord. If any thinke that it was her husbande, the text proueth the contrarie. For it affirmeth that Barak, of the tribe of Nephtalie was apointed to that office. If Barak had bene her husband: to what purpose shuld the holie ghost so diligentlie haue noted the tribe, and an other name then was before expressed? Yea to what purpose shuld it be noted, that she send and called him? whereof I doubt not, but that euerie reasonable man doth consider that this Barak was not her husband, and therof likwise it is euident, that her iudgement or gouernement in Israel was no such vsurped power, as our quenes vniustlie possesse this day, but that it was the spirit of prophecie, which rested vpon her, what time the multitude of the people wroght wickedlie in the eyes of the Lord: by the whiche spirit, she did rebuke the idolatrie and iniquitie of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end, did bring them this comfort, that God shuld deliuer them from the bondage and thraldom of their ennemies. And this she might do, not withstanding that an other did occupie the place of the supreme magistrat, (if any was in those dayes in Israel) for so I finde did Hulda the wife of Sallum in the dayes of Iosias king of Iuda speake prophecie and comfort the king: and yet he resigned to her nether the sceptre, nor the sword. That this our interpretacion, how that Debora did iudge in *Israel* is the true meaning of the holie ghost, the pondering and weying of the historie shall manifestlie proue. When she sendeth for Barak, I pray you, in whose name geueth she him his charge? Doth she speake

NOTE.

2. Reg. 22.

to him as kinges and princes vse to speake to their subiectes in suche cases? No, but she speaketh, as she that had a speciall reuelation frome God, whiche nether was knowen to Barak nor to the people, saying: hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded the? This is her preface, by the whiche she wold stirre vp the dull senses of Barak, and of the people, willing to persuade vnto them, that the time was comen, when God wold shewe him selfe their protector and deliuerer, in which preface she vsurpeth to her selfe, nether power nor authoritie. For she saith not, I being thy princes, thy maistresse, thy souereine ladie and quene, commande the vpon thine allegeance, and vnder pain of treason to go, and gather an armie. No, she spoileth her self of all power to commande, attributing that authoritie to God, of whom she had her reuelation and certitude to apoint Barak capitain, which after appeareth more plainlie. For when she had declared to him the hole counsel of God, apointing vnto him aswell the nombre of his souldiors, as the tribes, owt of which they shuld be gathered: and when she had apointed the place of the batel, (whiche she coulde not haue done, but by especiall reuelation of God) and had assured him of victorie in the name of God, and yet that he fainted and openlie refused, to entre in to that iourney except that the prophetesse wold accompanie him, she did vse against him no external power, she did not threaten him with rebellion and death, but for assurance of his faint hart and weake conscience, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, that the glorie shulde not be his in that iourney, but that the Lord shuld sell Sisera in to the hand of a woman. Such as haue more pleasure

Debora commanded not as princes vse to commande.

in light then in darknes, may clearlie perceiue, that Debora did vsurpe no such power nor authoritie, as our quenes do this day claime. But that she was indued with the spirit of wisdome, of knowledge, and of the true feare of God : and by the same she iudged the factes of the rest of the people. She rebuked their defection and idolatry, yea and also did redresse to her power, the iniuries, that were done by man to man. But all this, I say, she did by the spirituall sworde, that is, by the worde of God, and not by any temporall regiment or authoritie, whiche she did vsurpe ouer Israel. In which, I suppose, at that time there was no laufull magistrate, by the reason of their greate affliction. For so witnesseth the historie, saying : And Ehud being dead, the Lorde sold Israel in to the hand of Iabin king of Canaan. And he by Sisera his capitain afflicted Israel greatlie the space of twentie yeares. And Debora her self, in her song of thankes geuing, confesseth that before she did arise mother in Israel, and in the dayes of Iael, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any sticke to the terme, alledging that the holie ghost saith, that she iudged Israel : let them vnderstand, that nether doth the Ebrue word, nether yet the Latin, alwayes signifie ciuile iudgement, or the execution of the temporall sword, but most commonlie is taken in the sense, which we haue before expressed. For of Christ it is said : he shal iudge many nations. And that he shall pronounce iudgement to the gentiles. And yet it is euident, that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth Ierusalem and Iuda to iudge betwixt him and his vineyarde, and yet he

To iudge is not alway vnderstand of the ciuil regiment.

Isaie 2.
Isaie 42.
Mich. 4.
Isaie. 5.

apointed not them all to be ciuil magistrates. To Ezechiel it is said: shalt thou not iudge them sonne of man? and after: thou sonne of man, shalt thou not iudge? shalt thou not iudge, I say, the citie of blood? and also: behold, I shall iudge betwixt beast and beast. And such places in great nombre, are to be founde thrughout the hole scriptures, and yet I trust no man wilbe so foolish, as to thinke that any of the Prophetes were apointed by God to be politike iudges, or to punishe the sinnes of man, by corporal punishment. No the maner of their iudgement is expressed in these wordes: Declare to them all their abominations, and thou shalt say to them: Thus saith the Lorde God: a citie shedding blood in the middest of her, that her time may approche and which hath made idoles against her selfe, that she might be polluted. Thou hast transgressed in the blood which thou hast shed, and thou are polluted in the idoles, which thou hast made. Thus, I say, do the prophetes of God iudge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Debora iudged, what time Israel had declined from God: rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance, without vsurpation of any ciuill authoritie. And if the people gaue vnto her for a time any reuerence or honour, as her godlines and happie counsel did well deserue, yet was it no such empire, as our monstres claime. For which of her sonnes or nerest kinsmen left she ruler and iudge in Israel after her. The holie ghost expresseth no such thing. Wherof it is euident, that by her example God offreth no occasion to establish any regiment of women aboue men, realmes, and nations.

Ezech. 20.
Ezech. 22.
Ezech. 34.

Ezech. 22.

NOTE.

But now to the second obiection. In whiche women require (as to them appeareth) nothing but equitie and iustice. Whilest they and their patrones for them, require dominion and empire aboue men. For this is their question : Is it not lauful, that women haue their right and inheritance, like as the doughters of Zalphead were commanded by the mouth of Moses to haue their portion of grounde in their tribe ?

An answer to the second obiection.

I answer, it is not onlie laufull that women possesse their inheritance, but I affirme also that iustice and equitie require, that so they do. But therwith I adde that whiche gladlie they list not vnderstand : that to beare rule or authoritie ouer man, can neuer be right nor inheritance to woman. For that can neuer be iust inheritance to any person, whiche God by his word hath plainlie denied vnto them : but to all women hath God denied authoritie aboue man, as moste manifestlie is before declared : Therfore to her it can neuer be inheritance. And thus must the aduocates of our ladies prouide some better example and strongar argument. For the lawe made in fauor of the doughters of Zalphead, will serue them nothing. And assuredlie greate wonder it is, that in so greate light of Goddes truthe, men list to grope and wander in darknes. For let them speak of conscience : if the petition of any of these fore named women was to reigne ouer any one tribe, yea or yet ouer any one man within Israel. Plain it is, they did not, but onelie required, that they might haue a portion of ground amonge the men of their tribe, lest, that the name of their father shuld be abolished. And this was graunted vnto them without

what woman wold not gladly heare.

the doughters of Zalphead desired to reigne ouer no man in Israel.

respect had to any ciuil regiment. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing of this monstruous empire of women? The question is not: if women may not succede to possession, substance patrimonie or inheritance, such as fathers may leaue to their children, for that I willinglie grant: But the question is: if women may succede to their fathers in offices, and chieflie to that office, the executor wherof doth occupie the place and throne of God. And that I absolutelie denie: and feare not to say, that to place a woman in authoritie aboue a realme, is to pollute and prophane the royall seate, the throne of iustice, which oght to be the throne of God: and that to mainteine them in the same, is nothing els, but continuallie to rebell against God.

women may succede to inheritance but not to office.

One thing there is yet to be noted and obserued in the lawe made concerning the inheritance of the doughters of Zalphead, to wit, that it was forbidden vnto them to marie without their owne tribe, lest that such portion as fell to their lotte, shuld be transferred frome one tribe to an other, and so shuld the tribe of Manasses be defrauded and spoiled of their iust inheritance by their occasion. For auoiding of which it was commanded by Moses, that they should marie in the familie or housholde of the tribe and kindred of their father. Wonder it is that the aduocates and patrones of the right of our ladies did not consider and ponder this lawe before that they counseled the blinde princes and vnworthie nobles of their countries, to betray the liberties therof in to the handes of strangiers. England for satisfying of the inordinat appetites of that cruell monstre Marie (vnworthie by reason of her bloodie tyrannie,

Num. 36.

Our patrones of women do not marke this caution.

of the name of a woman) betrayed (alas) to the proude spaniarde: and Scotlande by the rashe madnes of foolish gouerners, and by the practises of a craftie dame resigned likewise, vnder title of mariage in to the power of France. Doth such translation of realmes and nations please the iustice of God, or is the possession by such means obteined, lauful in his sight? Assured I am that it is not. No other wise, I say, then is that possession, wherunto theues murtherers, tyrannes and oppressors do attein by theft murther, tyrannie, violence, deceit, and oppression, whiche God of his secrete (but yet most iust) iudgement doth often permit for punishment, aswel of the sufferers, as of the violent oppressors, but doth neuer approue the same as laufull and godlie. For if he wold not permit that the inheritance of the children of Israel shuld passe frome one tribe to an other by the mariage of any doughter, not withstanding that they were all one people, all spake one tonge, all were descended of one father, and all did professe one God, and one religion: If yet, I say, God wold not suffer that the commoditie and vsuall frute, which might be gathered of the portion of grounde limited and assigned to one tribe shulde passe to an other: Will he suffer that the liberties, lawes, commodities and frutes of hole realmes and nations, be geuen in to the power and distribution of others, by the reason of mariage, and in the powers of suche, as besides, that they be of a strange tonge, of strange maners and lawes, they are also ignorant of God, ennemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Iesus, persecutors of his true membres, and haters of all vertue? As the odious nation of spaniardes doth manifestlie declare:

Realmes gotten by practises are no iuste possession.

NOTE.

who for very despit, which they do beare against Christe Iesus, whome their forefathers did crucifie (for Iewes they are, as histories do witnesse, and they them selues confesse) do this day make plaine warre against all true professors of his holie gospell. And howe blindlie and outragiouslie the frenche king, and his pestilent prelates do fight against the veritie of God. the flaming fiers, which lick vp the innocent blood of Christes membres, do witnesse, and by his cruel edictes is notified and proclaimed. And yet to these two cruell tyrannes (to France, and Spain I meane) is the right and possession of England and Scotland apointed. But iust or laufull shall that possession neuer be, till God do chaunge the statute of his former lawe : whiche he will not do for the pleasure of man. For he hath not created the earth to satisfie the ambition of two or three tyrannes, but for the vniuersall seed of Adam : and hath apointed and defined the boundes of their habitation to diuerse nations, assigning diuers countries as he him selfe confesseth, speaking to Israel in these wordes : You shal passe by the boundes and limites of your bretheren the sonnes of Esau, who dwell in mount Seir. They shall feare you. But take diligent hede, that ye shewe not your selues cruell against them. For I will geue you no part of their land. No not the bredth of a foote. For mount Seir I haue geuen to Esau to be possessed. And the same he doth witnesse of the sonnes of Lot, to whom he had geuen Arre to be possessed. And Moses plainlie affirmeth, that when the almightie did distribute,

The spaniardes are Iewes and they bragge that Marie of England is the roote of Iesse.

Note the law which he hath proclaimed in France against such as he termeth Lutherians.

Act. 17.

Deuter. 2.

Deut. 32.

and diuide possessions to the gentiles, and when he did disperse, and scatter the sonnes of men, that then he did apoint the limites and boundes of peoples, for the nomber of the sonnes of Israel.

NOTE.

Wherof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in pray to tyrannes, making all thing laufull, which by violence and murther they may possesse, but that he hath apointed to euery seuerall nation, a seuerall possession, willing them to stand content (as nature did teache an ethnik to affirme) with that portion, which by lotte and iust meanes they had inioyed.

Cicero offic. lib. 1.

For what causes God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and the realmes of auncient nations to be possessed of strangiers, I delay at this time to intreate. Onlie this I haue recited to geue the worlde to vnderstand, that the reigne, empire, and authoritie of women, hath no grounde within Goddes scriptures. Yea that realmes or prouinces possessed by their mariage, is nothinge but vniust conquest.

Realmes gotton by mariage, is vniust conquest.

For so litle doth the lawe made for the doughters of Zalphead helpe the cause of your quenes, that vtterlie it fighteth against them, both damning their authoritie and fact. But now to the thirde obiection.

The consent, say they, of realmes and lawes pronounced and admitted in this behalfe, long consuetude and custome, together with felicitie of some women in their empires haue established their authoritie.

Answer to the third obiection.

To whome, I answer, that nether may the tyrannie of princes, nether the foolishnes of people, nether wicked lawes made against God, nether yet the felicitie that in this earthe may herof insue, make that thing laufull, whiche he by his word hath

manifestlie condemned. For if the approbation of princes and people, lawes made by men, or the consent of realmes, may establishe any thing against God and his word, then shuld idolatrie be preferred to the true religion. For mo realmes and nations, mo lawes and decrees published by Emperours with common consent of their counsels, haue established the one, then haue approued the other. And yet I thinke that no man of sounde iudgement, will therfore iustifie and defend idolatrie. No more oght any man to mainteine this odious empire of women, although that it were approued of all men by their lawes. For the same God that in plain wordes forbiddeth idolatrie, doth also forbidde the authoritie of women ouer man. As the wordes of saint Paule before rehearsed do plainly teach vs. And therfore whether women be deposed from that vniust authoritie (haue they neuer vsurped it so long) or if all such honor be denied vnto them, I feare not to affirme that they are nether defrauded of right, nor inheritance. For to women can that honor neuer be due nor laufull (muche lesse inheritance) whiche God hath so manifestlie denied vnto them.

women may and oght to be deposed from authoritie.

I am not ignorant that the subtill wittes of carnall men (which can neuer be broght vnder obedience of Goddes simple preceptes to maintein this monstruous empire) haue yet two vaine shiftes. First they alledge, that albeit women may not absolutelie reigne by themselues, because they may nether sit in iudgement, nether pronounce sentence, nether execute any publike office: yet may they do all such thinges by their lieutenantes, deputies and iudges substitute. Secondarilie, say they, a woman borne to rule ouer any realme, may

the fourth obiection.

chose her a husband, and to him she may transfer and geue her authoritie and right. To both I answer in fewe wordes. First that frome a corrupt and venomed fountein can spring no holsome water: Secondarilie that no person hath power to geue the thing, which doth not iustlie appertein to them selues: But the authoritie of a woman is a corrupted fountein, and therfore from her can neuer spring any lauful officer. She is not borne to rule ouer men: and therfore she can apointe none by her gift, nor by her power (which she hath not) to the place of a laufull magistrat. And therfore who soeuer receiueth of a woman, office or authoritie, are adulterous and bastard officers before God. This may appeare straunge at the first affirmation, but if we will be as indifferent and equall in the cause of God, as that we can be in the cause of man, the reason shall sodeinlie appeare. The case suposed, that a tyranne by conspiracie vsurped the royall seat and dignitie of a king, and in the same did so established him selfe, that he apointed officers, and did what him list for a time, and in this meane time, the natiue king made streit inhibition to all his subiectes, that none shuld adhere to this traitor, nether yet receiue any dignitie of him, yet neuer the lesse they wold honor the same traitor as king, and becomme his officers in all affaires of the realme. If after, the natiue prince did recouer his iust honor and possession, shuld he repute or esteme any man of the traitors apointement for a laufull magistrate? or for his frende and true subiect? or shuld he not rather with one sentence condemne the head with the membres? And if so he shuld do, who were able to accuse him

women can make no laufull officer.

Let England and Scotland take hede.

of rigor? much lesse to condemne his sentence of iniustice. And dare we denie the same power to God in the like case? For that woman reigneth aboue man, she hath obteined it by treason and conspiracie committed against God. Howe can it be then, that she being criminall and giltie of treason against God committed, can apointe any officer pleasing in his sight? It is a thing impossible. Wherefore let men that receiue of women authoritie, honor or office, be most assuredly persuaded, that in so mainteining that vsurped power, they declare them selues ennemies to God. If any thinke, that because the realme and estates therof, haue geuen their consentes to a woman, and haue established her, and her authoritie: that therfore it is laufull and acceptable before God: let the same men remembre what I haue said before, to wit, that God can not approue the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his worde and ordinance, and therfore they must haue a more assured defense against the wrath of God, then the approbation and consent of a blinded multitude, or elles they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the consuming fier: that is, they must acknowledge that the regiment of a woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God. They must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitoresse and rebell against God. And finallie they must studie to represse her inordinate pride and tyrannie to the vttermost of their power. The same is the dutie of the nobilitie and estates, by whose blindnes a woman is promoted. First in so farre, as they haue moste haynouslie offended against God, placing in authoritie suche as

woman in authoritie is rebel against God.

what the nobilitie oght to do in this behalf.

God by his worde hath remoued frome the same, vnfeinedly they oght to call for mercie, and being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in signe and token of true repentance, with common consent they oght to retreate that, which vnaduisedlie and by ignorance they haue pronounced, and oght without further delay to remoue from authority all such persones, as by vsurpation, violence, or tyrannie, do possesse the same. For so did Israel and Iuda after they had reuolted from Dauid, and Iuda alone in the dayes of Athalia. For after that she by murthering her sonnes children, had obteined the empire ouer the land, and had most vnhappelie reigned in Iuda six years, Iehoiada the high priest called together the capitaines and chief rulers of the people, and shewing to them the kinges sonne Ioas, did binde them by an othe to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royall seat, which they faithfullie did, killinge at his commandement not onlie that cruell and mischeuous woman, but also the people did destroie the temple of Baal, break his altars and images, and kill Mathan Baales high priest before his altars. The same is the dutie aswell of the estates, as of the people that hath bene blinded. First they oght to remoue frome honor and authoritie, that monstre in nature (so call I a woman cled in the habit of man, yea a woman against nature reigning aboue man). Secondarilie if any presume to defende that impietie, they oght not to feare, first to pronounce, and then after to execute against them the sentence of deathe. If any man be affraid to violat the oth of obedience, which they haue made to suche

2 Reg. 11.

Marke this fact, for it agreeth with Goddes lawe pronounced.

monstres, let them be most assuredly persuaded, that as the beginning of their othes, proceding from ignorance was sinne, so is the obstinate purpose to kepe the same, nothinge but plaine rebellion against God. But of this mater in the second blast, God willing, we shall speake more at large.

And nowe to put an end to the first blast, seing that by the ordre of nature, by the malediction and curse pronounced against woman, by the mouth of S. Paule the intrepreter of Goddes sentence, by the example of that common welth, in whiche God by his word planted ordre and policie, and finallie by the iudgement of the most godlie writers, God hath deiected woman frome rule, dominion, empire, and authoritie aboue man. Moreouer, seing that nether the example of Debora, nether the lawe made for the doughters of Zalphead, nether yet the foolishe consent of an ignorant multitude, be able to iustifie that whiche God so plainlie hath condemned: let all men take hede what quarell and cause frome hence furthe they do defend. If God raise vp any noble harte to vendicat the libertie of his countrie, and to suppresse the monstruous empire of women, let all suche as shal presume to defend them in the same, moste certeinlie knowe, that in so doing, they lift their hand against God, and that one day they shall finde his power to fight against their foolishnes. Let not the faithfull, godlie, and valiant hartes of Christes souldiers be vtterlie discouraged, nether yet let the tyrannes reioise, albeit for a time they triumphe against such as studie to represse their tyrannie, and to remoue them from vniust authoritie. For the causes alone, why he suffereth the souldiers to fail in batel, whome neuerthelesse he commandeth to fight as somtimes

An admonition.

did Israel fighting against Beniamin. The cause of the Israelites was most iust : for it was to punishe that horrible abomination of those sonnes of Belial, abusing the leuites wife, whome the Beniamites did defend. And they had Goddes precept to assure them of well doing. For he did not onelie commande them to fight, but also apointed Iuda to be their leader and capitain, and yet fell they twise in plain batel against those most wicked adulterers.

Iudic. 20.

The secret cause of this, I say, is knowen to God alone. But by his euident scriptures we may assuredly gather, that by such means doth his wisdome somtimes, beat downe the pride of the flesh (for the Israelites at the firste trusted in their multitude, power and strength) and somtimes by such ouerthrowes, he will punish the offenses of his owne children, and bring them to the vnfeined knowledge of the same, before he will geue them victorie against the manifest contemners, whom he hath apointed neuerthelesse to vttermost perdition : as the end of that batel did witnesse. For althogh with greate murther the children of Israel did twise fall before the Beniamites, yet after they had wept before the Lorde, after they had fasted and made sacrifice in signe of their vnfeined repentance, they so preuailed against that proude tribe of Beniamin, that after 25. thousande strong men of warre were killed in batel, they destroyed man, woman, childe and beaste, as well in the fieldes, as in the cities, whiche all were burned with fier, so that onelie of that hole tribe remained six hundredth men, who fled to the wildernes, where they remained foure monethes, and so were saued. The same God, who did execute this greuous punishment, euen by the

why God permitteth somtimes his owne souldiers to fall in batel.

Iudic. 20.

handes of those, whom he suffred twise to be ouercomen in batel, doth this day retein his power and iustice. Cursed Iesabel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papistes, make no litle bragge and boast, that they haue triumphed not only against Wyet, but also against all such as haue entreprised any thing against them or their procedinges. But let her and them consider, that yet they haue not preuailed against God, his throne is more high, then that the length of their hornes be able to reache. And let them further consider, that in the beginning of their bloodie reigne, the haruest of their iniquitie was not comen to full maturitie and ripenes. No, it was so grene, so secret I meane, so couered, and so hid with hypocrisie, that some men (euen the seruantes of God) thoght it not impossible, but that wolues might be changed in to lambes, and also that the vipere might remoue her natural venom. But God, who doth reuele in his time apointed the secretes of hartes, and that will haue his iudgementes iustified euen by the verie wicked, hath now geuen open testimonie of her and their beastlie crueltie. For man and woman, learned and vnlearned, nobles and men of baser sorte, aged fathers and tendre damiselles, and finailie the bones of the dead, aswell women as men haue tasted of their tyrannie, so that now not onlie the blood of father Latimer, of the milde man of God the bishop of Cantorburie, of learned and discrete Ridley, of innocent ladie Iane dudley, and many godly and worthie preachers, that can not be forgotten, such as fier hath consumed, and the sworde of tyrannie moste vniustlie hath shed, doth call for vengeance in the eares of the Lord God of hostes : but also the sobbes and teares

NOTE.

of the poore oppressed, the groninges of the angeles, the watch men of the Lord, yea and euerie earthlie creature abused by their tyrannie do continuallie crie and call for the hastie execution of the same. I feare not to say, that the day of vengeance, whiche shall apprehend that horrible monstre Iesabal of England, and suche as maintein her monstruous crueltie, is alredie apointed in the counsel of the Eternall; and I verelie beleue that it is so nigh, that she shall not reigne so long in tyrannie, as hitherto she hath done, when God shall declare him selfe to be her ennemie, when he shall poure furth contempt vpon her, according to her crueltie, and shal kindle the hartes of such, as somtimes did fauor her with deadly hatred against her, that they may execute his iudgementes. And therfore let such as assist her, take hede what they do. For assuredlie her empire and reigne is a wall without foundation: I meane the same of the authoritie of all women. It hath bene vnderpropped this blind time that is past, with the foolishnes of people, and with the wicked lawes of ignorant and tyrannous princes. But the fier of Goddes worde is alredie laide to those rotten proppes (I include the Popes lawe with the rest) and presentlie they burn, albeit we espie not the flame: when they are consumed, (as shortlie they will be, for stuble and drie timbre can not long indure the fier) that rotten wall, the vsurped and vniust empire of women, shall fall by it self in despit of all man, to the destruction of so manie, as shall labor to vphold it. And therfore let all man be aduertised, for the trumpet hath ones blowen.

The authoritie of all women, is a wall without foundation.

Praise God ye that feare him.

GREENE'S GROATSWORTH OF WIT, BOUGHT WITH A MILLION OF REPENTANCE

WRITTEN BEFORE HIS DEATH AND PUBLISHED AT HIS DYING REQUEST

ROBERT GREENE

1560?–92

GREENES GROATS-WORTH OF WIT, BOUGHT WITH A MILLION OF REPENTENCE

[1592. This death-bed piece was prepared for press from Greene's MS. by Henry Chettle, dramatist and controversialist, who (*see* the preface to *Kind Harts Dream*) admits that he softened some of Greene's more violent phrases. Doubts having been expressed as to the true authorship of the pamphlet, both Chettle and Nashe publicly repudiated suggestions that they had taken cover behind Greene's name, Chettle emphatically stating, 'It was all Greenes, not mine, nor Maister Nashes.' On account of its allusion to Shakespeare—the 'upstart crow'—Greene's last testament has become perhaps the most widely known of sixteenth-century pamphlets.]

The Printer to the Gentle Readers.

I HAVE published here Gentlemen for your mirth and benefite *Greenes* groates worth of wit. With sundry of his pleasant discourses, ye haue beene before delighted : But nowe hath death giuen a period to his pen : onely this happened into my handes which I haue published for your pleasures : Accept it fauourably because it was his last birth and not least worth : In my poore opinion. But I will cease to praise that which is aboue my conceipt, & leaue it selfe to speak for it selfe : and so abide your learned censuring. Yours W. W.[1]

[1] William Wright.

To the Gentlemen Readers.

GENTLEMEN. The Swan sings melodiously before death, that in all his life time vseth but a iarring sound. Greene *though able inough to write, yet deeplyer serched with sicknes than euer heeretofore, sendes you his Swanne like songe, for that he feares he shall neuer againe carroll to you woonted loue layes, neuer againe discouer to you youths pleasures. How euer yet sicknesse, riot, Incontinence, haue at once shown their extremitie yet if I recouer, you shall all see, more fresh sprigs, then euer sprang from me, directing you how to liue, yet not diswading ye from loue. This is the last I haue writ, and I feare me the last I shall writ. And how euer I haue beene censured for some of my former bookes, yet Gentlemen I protest, they were as I had speciall information. But passing them, I commend this to your fauourable censures, that like an Embrion without shape, I feare me will be thrust into the world. If I liue to end it, it shall be otherwise: if not, yet will I commend it to your courtesies, that you may as well be acquainted with my repentant death, as you haue lamented my careles course of life. But as* Nemo ante obitum felix, *so* Acta Exitus probat: *Beseeching therefore so to be deemed heereof as I deserue, I leaue the worke to your likinges, and leaue you to your delightes.*

GREENES GROATES-WORTH OF WIT.

IN an Iland bounded with the Ocean there was somtime a Cittie situated, made riche by Marchandize, and populous by long peace, the name is not mentioned in the Antiquarie, or els worne out by times Antiquitie, what it was it greatly skilles not, but therein thus it happened. An old new made Gentleman herein dwelt, of no small credit, exceeding wealth, and large conscience: hee had gathered from many to bestow vpon one, for though he had two sonnes he esteemed but one, that being as himselfe, brought vp to be golds bondman, was therefore held heire apparant of his il gathered goods.

The other was a Scholler, and maried to a proper Gentlewoman and therfore least regarded, for tis an old sayd saw: To learning & law, thers no greater foe than they that nothing know: yet was not the father altogether vnlettered, for he had good experience in a *Nouerint*, and by the vniuersall tearmes therein contained, had driuen many a yoong Gentleman to seeke vnknowen countries, wise he was, for he boare office in his parish and sat as formally in his foxfurd gowne, as if he had been a very vpright dealing Burges: he was religious too, neuer without a booke at his belt, and a bolt in his mouthe, readye to shoote through his sinfull neighbor.

And Latin hee had some where learned, which though it were but little, yet was it profitable, for he had this Philosophye written in a ring, *Tu tibi cura,* which precept he curiously obserued, being in selfeloue so religious, as he held it no poynt of charitie to part with any thing, of whiche hee liuing might make vse.

But as all mortall thinges are momentarie, and no certaintie can bee found in this vncertaine world : so *Gorinius,* (for that shall bee this vsurers name) after manye a gowtie pang that had pincht his exterior partes, many a curse of the people that mounted into heauens presence, was at last with his last summons, by a deadly disease arrested, wher-against when hee had long contended, and was by Phisitions giuen ouer, he cald his two sonnes before him : and willing to performe the olde prouerb *Qualis vita finis Ita,* he thus prepard himselfe, and admonished them. My sonnes (for so your mother sayde ye were) and so I assure my selfe one of you is, and of the other I will make no doubt.

You se the time is com, which I thought would neuer haue aproched and we must now be seperated, I feare neuer to meete againe. This sixteene yeares dayly haue I liude vexed with disease : and might I liue sixteene more, howe euer miserably, I should thinke it happye. But death is relentlesse, and will not be intreated witles : and knowes not what good my gold might doo him : senseles, & hath no pleasure in the delightfull places I would offer him. In briefe, I thinke he hath with this foole my eldest sonne been brought vp in the vniuersitie, and therefore accounts that in riches is no vertue. But thou my son, (laying then his hand on the yongers head) haue thou another spirit : for without wealth, life,

is a death : what is gentry if welth be wanting, but bace seruile beggerie. Some comfort yet it is vnto me, to thinke how many Gallants sprunge of noble parents, haue croucht to *Gorinius* to haue sight of his gold : O gold, desired gold, admired gold : and haue lost their patrimonies to *Gorinius*, because they haue not returned by their day that adored creature : How manye Schollers haue written rymes in *Gorinius* praise, and receiued (after long capping and reuerence) a sixpeny reward in signe of my superficial liberality. Breefly my yong *Lucanio* how I haue beene reurenst thou seest, when honester men I confesse haue been sett farre off : for to bee rich is to bee any thing, wise, honest, worshipful, or what not. I tel thee my sonne : when I came first to this Citie my whole wardrop was onely a sute of white sheepe skins, my wealth an old groat, my woonning, the wide world. At this instant (O greefe to part with it) I haue in ready coine three-score thousand pound, in plate and Iewels xv. thousand ; in Bondes and specialties as much, in land nine hundred pound by the yeere : all which, *Lucanio* I bequeath to thee, only I reserue for *Roberto* thy wel red brother an old groat, (being y^e^ stocke I first began with) wherewith I wish him to buy a groats-worth of wit : for he in my life hath reprooud my manner of life, and therefore at my death, shall not be contaminated with corrupt gaine. Here by the way Gentlemen must I digresse to shewe the reason of *Gorinius* present speach: *Roberto* being come from the Academie, to visit his father, there was a great feast prouided : where for table talke, *Roberto* knowing his father and most of the company to be execrable vsurers, inuayed mightely against that abhorred vice, insomuche

that hee vrged teares from diuers of their eyes, and compunction in some of their harts. Dinner being past, he comes to his father, requesting him to take no offence at his liberall speach, seeing what he had vttred was truth. Angry sonne (said he) no by my honestie (and that is som what I may say to you) but vse it still, and if thou canst perswade any of my neighbours from lending vppon vsurie I shuld haue the more customers: to which when *Roberto* would haue replyde hee shut himselfe into his study, and fell to tell ouer his mony.

This was *Robertos* offence: now returne, wee to sicke *Gorinius*, who after he had thus vnequally distributed his goods and possessions, began to aske his sonnes how they liked his bequestes, either seemed agreed, and *Roberto* vrged him with nothing more than repentance of his sinnloke: to thine owne said he, fonde boy, & come my *Lucanio*, let me giue thee good counsell before my death: as for you sir, your bookes are your counsellors, and therefore to them I bequeathe you. Ah *Lucanio*, my onely comfort, because I hope thou wilt as thy father be a gatherer, let me blesse thee before I dye. Multiply in welth my sonne by any meanes thou maist, onely flye Alchymie, for therein are more deceites than her beggerlye Artistes haue words, and yet are the wretches more talkatiue than women. But my meaning is, thou shouldest not stand on conscience in causes of profit, but heap treasure vpon treasure, for the time of neede: yet seem to be deuout, els shalt thou be held vyle, frequent holy exercises graue companie, and aboue al vse the conuersation of yoong Gentlemen, who are so wedded to prodigalitie, that once in a quarter necissitie knocks at their chamber doores: profer

them kindnesse to relieue their wants, but be sure of good assurance: giue faire wordes till dayes of paiment come, & then vse my course, spare none: what though they tell of conscience (as a number will talke) looke but into the dealinges of the world, and thou shalt see it is but idle words. Seest thou not many perish in the streetes, and fall to theft for neede: whom small succor woulde releeue, then where is conscience, and why art thou bound to vse it more than other men? Seest thou not daylie forgeries periuries, oppressions, rackinges of the poore, raisinges of rents, inhauncing of duties euen by them that should be al conscience, if they ment as they speake: but *Lucanio* if thou read well this booke (and with that hee reacht him *Machiauels* workes at large) thou shalt se, what tis to be so foole-holy as to make scruple of conscience where profit presents it selfe.

Besides, thou hast an instance by the threedbare brother here, who willing to do no wrong, hath lost his childes right: for who woulde wish any thinge to him, that knowes not how to vse it.

So much *Lucanio* for conscience: & yet I know not whats the reason, but some-what stinges mee inwardly when I speake of it. I father said *Roberto*, it is the worme of conscience, that vrges you at the last houre to remember your life, that eternall life may followe your repentance. Out foole (sayd this miserable father), I feele it now, it was onelye a stitch. I will forwarde with my exhortation to *Lucanio*. As I said my sonne, make spoyle of yoong Gallants, by insinuating thy selfe amongst them, & be not mooued to thinke their Auncestors were famous, but consider thine were obscure, and that thy father was the first Gentleman of the Name:

Lucanio, thou art yet a Bacheler, and soe keepe thee till thou meete with one that is thy equal, I meane in wealth: regarde not beautie, it is but a bayte to entice thine neighbors eye: and the most faire are commonlye most fond, vse not too many familiars, for few prooue frendes, and as easie it is to weigh the wind, as to diue into the thoughtes of worldlye glosers. I tell thee *Lucanio*, I haue seene four-scoore winters besides the od seuen, yet saw I neuer him, that I esteemed as my friend but gold, that desired creature, whom I haue so deerly loued, and found so firme a frind, as nothing to me hauing it hath beene wanting. No man but may thinke deerly of a true frend, & so do I of it laying it vnder sure locks, and lodging my heart there-with.

But now (Ah my *Lucanio*) now must I leaue it, and to thee I leaue it with this lessen, loue none but thy selfe, if thou wilt liue esteemd. So turning him to his studdy, where his cheife treasure lay, he loud cryde out in the wise mans woords, *O mors quam amara*, O death how bitter is thy memory to him that hath al pleasures in this life, & so with two or three lamentable grones hee left his life: and to make short worke, was by *Lucanio* his sonne interd, as the custome is with some solemnitie: But leauing him that hath left the world to him that censureth of euery worldly man, passe wee to his sonnes: and se how his long laid vp store is by *Lucanio* lookyd into. The youth was of condition simple, shamfast, & flexible to any counsaile, which *Roberto* perceiuing, and pondering howe little was lefte to him, grew into an inward contempt of his fathers vnequall legacie, and determinate resolution to work *Lucanio* al possible iniurie, herevpon thus

conuerting the sweetnes of his studdye to the sharpe thirst of reuenge, he (as Enuie is seldome idle) sought out fit companions to effect his vnbrotherly resolution. Neither in such a case is ill company far to seek, for y^e Sea hath scarce so ieoperdies, as populous Citties haue deceiuing Syrens, whose eies are Adamants, whose words are witchcraftes, whose doores lead downe to death. With one of these female serpents *Roberto* consorts, and they conclude what euer they compassed equally to sharre to their contentes. This match made, *Lucanio* was by his brother brought to the bush, where he had scarse pruned his winges, but hee was fast limd, and *Roberto* had what he expected. But that wee may keepe forme, you shall heare howe it fortuned.

Lucanio being on a time verie pensiue, his brother brake with him in these termes. I wonder *Lucanio* why you are disconsolate, that want not any thinge in the worlde that may worke your content. If wealth may delight a man, you are with that sufficiently furnisht: if credit may procure any comfort, your word I knowe well, is as well accepted as any mans obligation: in this Citie, are faire buildings and pleasant gardens, and cause of solace, of them I am assured you haue your choyce. Consider brother you are yoong, then plod not altogether in meditating on our fathers precepts: which howseuer they sauored of profit, were most vnsauerly to one of your yeares applied. You must not thinke but sundrye marchants of this Citie expect your company, sundry Gentlemen desire your familiaritie, & by conuersing with such, you wil be accounted a Gentleman: otherwise a pesant, if ye liue thus obscurely. Besides, which I had almost forgot and

then had al the rest beene nothing, you are a man by nature furnished with all exquisite proportion, worthy the loue of any courtly lady, be she neuer so amorous : you haue wealth to maintaine her, of women not little longed for : wordes to court her you shall not want, for my selfe will be your secretarie. Breefely why stand I to distinguish abilitie in perticularities, when in one word it may be said which no man can gainsay, *Lucanio* lacketh nothing to delight a wife, nor any thing but a wife to delight him? My yoong maister being thus clawd, and pufft vp with his owne praise, made no longer delay, but hauing on his holidaie hose hee trickt himselfe vp and like a fellowe that meant good sooth, he clapt hys brother on the shoulder and said. Faith brother *Roberto,* and ye say the worde lets goe seeke a wife while tis hoat, both of vs together, Ile pay well, and I dare tourne you loose to say as well as any of them all, well Ile doo my best said *Roberto* and since ye are so forwarde lets goe nowe and try your good fortune.

With this foorth they walke, and *Roberto* went directly toward the house where *Lamilia* (for so wee call the Curtizan) kept her hospitall, which was in the suburbes of the Citie, pleasantly seated, and made more delectable by a pleasaunt garden wherin it was scituate. No soner come they within ken, but Mistris *Lamilia* like a cunning angler made readye her change of baytes that shee might effect *Lucanios* bane : and to begin she discouered from her window her beauteous enticing face, and taking a lute in her hand that shee might the rather allure, she soung this sonnet with a delicious voyce,

Lamilias song.

Fie fie on blind fancie,
It hinders youths ioy :
Faire virgins learne by me,
To count loue a toy.
When loue learnd first the A B C of delight,
And knew no figures, nor conceited phrase :
He simply gaue to due desert her right,
He lead not louers in darke winding wayes,
He plainely wild to loue, or flatly answerd no,
But now who lists to proue shall find it nothing so,
Fie fie then on fancie,
It hinders youths ioy,
Faire virgins learne by me,
To count loue a toy.
For since he learnd to vse the Poets pen,
He learnd likewise with smoothing words to faine,
Witching chast eares with trothles tungs of men,
And wronged faith with falshood and disdaine.
He giues a promise now, anon he sweareth no,
Who listeth for to proue shall find his changings so,
Fie fie then on fancie,
It hinders youthes ioy,
Faire virgins learne by me,
To count loue a toy.

While this painted sepulcher was shadowing her corrupting guilt, Hiena-like alluring to destruction, *Roberto* and *Lucanio* vnder her windowe kept euen pace with euery stop of her instrument, but especially my yoong Ruffler, (that before time like a birde in a cage had beene prentise for three liues or one and twentie yeares at lest to extreame Avarice his deceased father) O twas a world to see howe hee sometyme simperd it, striuing to sett a countenance

on his new turnd face, that it might seeme of wainscot proofe, to behold her face without blushing: anone he would stroke his bow-bent-leg, as if he ment to shoote loue arrows from his shins: then wypt his chin (for his beard was not yet growen) with a gold wrought handkercher, whence of purpose he let fall a handfull of Angels. This golden shower was no sooner raind, but *Lamilia* ceast her song, and *Roberto* (assureing himselfe the foole was caught) came to *Lucanio* (that stood now as one that had stard *Medusa* in the face) and awaked him from his amazement with these wordes. What in a traunce brother? whence springs these dumps? are ye amazd at this obiect? or long ye to become loues subiect? Is there not difference betweene this delectable life, and the imprisonment you haue all your life hethertoo indured? If the sight and hearing of this harmonyous beautie worke in you effects of wonder, what will the possession of so deuine an essence, wherein beautie & Art dwell in their perfectest excellence. Brother said *Lucanio* lets vse fewe wordes, and shee be no more then a woman, I trust youle helpe me to win her? and if you doe, well, I say no more but I am yours till death vs depart, and what is mine shall be yours world without end Amen.

Roberto smiling at his simplenes, helpte him to gather vppe his dropt gold, and without anye more circumstance, led him to *Lamilias* house: for of such places it may be said as of hell.

Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua ditis.

So their dores are euer open to entice youth to distruction. They were no sooner entred but *Lamilia* her selfe like a seconde *Helen*, court like

begins to salute *Roberto*, yet did her wandring eie glance often at *Lucanio*: the effect of her intertainment consisted in these tearmes, that to her simple house Signor *Roberto* was welcome, & his brother the better welcom for his sake: albeit his good report confirmde by his present demeaner were of it selfe enough to giue him deserued entertainement in any place how honorable soeuer: mutuall thankes returnd, they lead this prodigall child into a parlor garnished with goodly portratures of amiable personages: nere which an excellent consort of musike began at their entraunce to play. *Lamilia* seeing *Lucanio* shamefast, tooke him by the hand, and tenderly wringing him vsed these wordes. Beleeue me Gentleman, I am very sorie that our rude entertainment is such, as no way may worke your content, for this I haue noted since your first entering that your countenance hath beene heauie, and the face being the glasse of the hart, assures me the same is not quiet: would ye wish any thing heere that might content you, say but the word, and assure ye of present diligence to effect your full delight. *Lucanio* being so farre in loue, as he perswaded himselfe without her grant he could not liue, had a good meaninge to vtter his minde but wanting fit wordes, he stood like a trewant that lackt a prompter, or a plaier that being out of his part at his first entrance, is faine to haue the booke to speak what he should performe. Which *Roberto* perceiuing, replied thus in his behalfe: Madame the Sunnes brightnesse daisleth the beholders eies, the maiestie of Gods, amazeth humane men, *Tullie* Prince of Orators once fainted though his cause were good, and hee that tamed monsters stoode amated at Beauties ornaments: Then blame not

this yoong man though he replied not, for he is blinded with the beautie of your sunne darkening eies, made mute with the celestiall organe of your voyce, and feare of that rich ambush of amber colored dartes, whose poyntes are leueld against his hart. Well Signor *Roberto* said shee, how euer you interpret their sharpe leuell, be sure they are not bent to doo him hurt, and but that modestie blindes vs poore maydens from vttering the inward sorrow of our mindes, perchance the cause of greefe is ours how euer men do colour, for as I am a virgin I protest, (and therewithall shee tainted her cheekes with a vermilion blush) I neuer saw Gentleman in my life in my eie so gratious as is *Lucanio* only this is my greefe, that either I am dispised for that he scornes to speak, or els (which is my greater sorrow) I feare he cannot speake. Not speake Gentlewoman quoth *Lucanio* that were a iest indeed, yes I thanke God I am sound of wind and lym, only my hart is not as it was wont : but and you be as good as your word that will soone be well, and so crauing ye of more acquaintance, in token of my plaine meaning receiue this diamond, which my old father loud deerely : and with that deliuered her a ringe wherein was a poynted diamonde of wonderfull worth. Which she accepting with a lowe conge, returnd him a silke Riband for a fauour tyde with a true loues knot, which he fastened vnder a faire Iewel on his Beuer felt.

After this *Diomedis & Glauci permutatio,* my yong master waxed crancke, and the musike continuing, was very forward in dauncing, to shew his cunning : and so desiring them to play on a hornepipe, laid on the pauement lustely with his leaden heeles, coruetting, like a steede of *Signor Roccoes* teaching,

& wanted nothing but bels, to be a hobbyhorse in a morrice. Yet was he soothed in his folly, and what euer he did *Lamilia* counted excellent : her prayse made him proude, in so much that if hee had not beene intreated, hee would rather haue died in his daunce, then left off to shew his mistris delight. At last reasonably perswaded, seeing the table furnished, hee was content to cease, and settle him to his victuals, on which (hauing before labored) hee fed lustely, especially of a Woodcocke pye, wherewith *Lamilia* his caruer, plentifully plied him. Full dishes hauing furnisht empty stomackes, and *Lucanio* therby got leisure to talke, falles to discourse of his wealth, his landes, his bondes, his ability, and how himselfe with all he had, was at madame *Lamilias* disposing : desiring her afore his brother to tell him simply what she meant. *Lamilia* replied My sweet *Lucanio,* how I esteeme of thee mine eies do witnes, that like handmaides, haue attended thy beauteous face, euer since I firste behelde thee : yet seeing loue that lasteth, gathereth by degrees his liking : let this for that suffice, if I finde thee firme, *Lamilia* wilbe faithfull : if fleeting, shee must of necessity be infortunate : that hauing neuer seene any whome before she could affect, she should be of him iniuriously forsaken. Nay said *Lucanio,* I dare say my brother here will giue his woord for that I accept your own said *Lamilia* : for with me your credite is better than your brothers. *Roberto* brake off their amorous prattle with this speech. Sith either of you are of other so fond at the first sight, I doubt not but time will make your loue more firme. Yet madame *Lamilia* although my brother and you bee thus forward, some crosse chaunce may come : for *Multa cadunt inter calicem*

supremaq ; labe. And for a warning to teach you both wit, Ile tell you an old wiues tale.

Before ye goe on with our tale (qd Mistris *Lamilia*) let me giue ye a caueat by the wey, which shall be figured in a fable.

Lamilias Fable.

THE Foxe on a time came to visite the Gray, partly for kindered cheefly for craft : and finding the hole emptie of all other company, sauing only one Badger enquired the cause of his solitarinesse : hee discribed, the sodaine death of his dam and sire with the rest of his consortes. The Fox made a Friday face, counterfeiting sorrow : but concludinge that deaths stroke was vneuitable perswaded him to seeke som fit mate wherwith to match. The badger soone agreed, so forth they went, and in their way met with a wanton ewe stragling from the fold : the foxe bad the Badger play the tall stripling, & strout on his tiptoes : for (qd he) this ewe is lady of al these lawnds and her brother cheefe belweather of sundry flockes. To bee short by the Foxes perswasion there would bee a perpetuall league, betweene her harmeles kindred, and all other deuouring beastes, for that the Badger was to them all allied : seduced she yeelded, and the Fox conducted them to the Badgers habitation. Wher drawing her aside vnder color of exhortation, puld out her throat to satisfie his greedy thirst. Here I shoulde note, a yoonge whelpe that viewed their walke, infourmed the shepheardes of what hapned. They followed, and trained the Foxe and Badger to the hole, the Foxe afore had craftely conuaid himselfe away, the shepheards found the Badger

rauing for the ewes murther, his lamentation being held for counterfet, was by the shepherds dogs werried. The Foxe escaped : the Ewe was spoiled, and euer since betweene the Badgers and dogs hath continued a mortall enmitie : And now be aduized, *Roberto* (qd she) go forward with your tale, seek not by sly insinuation to turne our mirth to sorrow. Go to *Lamilia* (qd he) you feare what I meane not, but howe euer yee take it, Ile forward with my tale.

Robertoes Tale.

IN the North partes there dwelt an olde Squier, that had a young daughter his heire; who had (as I knowe Madam *Lamilia* you haue had) many youthfull Gentlemen that long time sued to obtaine her loue. But she knowing her own perfections (as women are by nature proud) would not to any of them vouchsafe fauour : insomuch that they perceiuing her relentlesse, shewed themselues not altogether witlesse, but left her to her fortune, when they found her frowardnes. At last it fortuned among other strangers, a Farmers sonne visited her Fathers house : on whom at the first sight she was enamoured, he likewise on her. Tokens of loue past betweene them, either acquainted others parentes of their choise, and they kindly gaue their consent. Short tale to make, married they were, and great solempnitie was at the wedding feast. A yong Gentleman, that had beene long a suiter to her, vexing that the Sonne of a Farmer should bee so preferd, cast in his minde by what meanes (to marre their merriment) hee might steale away the Bride. Hereupon he confers with an olde Beldam, called

Mother *Gunby*, dwelling thereby, whose counsell hauing taken, he fell to his practise, and proceeded thus. In the after noone, when dauncers were verie busie, he takes the Bride by the hande, and after a turne or two, tels her in her eare, he had a secret to impart vnto her, appointing her in any wise in the euening to find a time to confer with him : she promist she would, and so they parted. Then goes hee to the Bridegroome, & with protestations of entire affect, protests that the great sorrowe hee takes at that which hee must vtter, wheron depended his especiall credit, if it were known the matter by him should be discouered. After the Bridegrooms promise of secrecie, the gentleman tels him, that a frend of his receiued that morning from the Bride a Letter, wherein shee willed him with some sixteene horse to await her comming at a Parke side, for that she detested him in her heart as a base countrey hynde, with whome her Father compeld her to marry. The Bridegroome almost out of his wits, began to bite his lip. Nay, sayth the Gentleman, if you will by me bee aduizde, you shall salue her credit, win her by kindnes, and yet preuent her wanton complot. As how said the Bridegroome? Mary thus saide the Gentleman: In the euening (for till the guests be gone, she intends not to gad) get you on horsebacke, and seeme to bee of the companie that attendes her comming, I am appoynted to bring her from the house to the Parke, and from thence fetch a winding compasse of a mile about, but to turne vnto olde Mother *Gunbyes* house, where her Louer my friend abydes: when she alights, I will conduct her to a chamber farre from his lodging; but when the lights are out, and shee expects her adulterous

copesmate, your selfe (as reason is) shall proue her bedfellow, where priuately you may reprooue her, and in the morning earely returne home without trouble. As for the Gentleman my friend, I will excuse her absence to him, by saying, she mockt me with her Mayde in steade of her selfe, whome when I knew at her alighting, I disdained to bring her vnto his presence. The Bridegroome gaue his hand eit shoulde be so.

Now by the way you must vnderstand, this Mother *Gunby* had a daughter, who all that day sate heauily at home with a willow garland, for that the Bridegroome (if hee had dealt faithfully) should haue wedded her before any other. But men (*Lamilia*) are vnconstant, money now a dayes makes the match, or else the match is marde.

But to the matter: the Bridegroome and the Gentleman thus agreed: he tooke his time, conferd with the Bride, perswaded her that her husband (notwithstanding his faire shew at the marriage) had sworne to his olde sweet heart, their neighbour *Gunbyes* daughter, to bee that night her bedfellow: and if she would bring her Father, his Father, and other friendes to the house at midnight, they should find it so.

At this the young Gentlewoman inwardly vext to bee by a peasant so abusde, promist if she saw likelyhood of his slipping away, that then she would doo according as he directed.

All this thus sorting, the old womans daughter was trickly attyrde ready to furnish this pageant, for her old mother prouided all things necessary.

Well, Supper past, dauncing ended, and the guests would home, and the Bridegroome pretending to bring some friend of his home, got his horse,

and to the Parke side he rode, and staide with the horsemen that attended the Gentleman.

Anon came *Marian* like mistris Bride, and mounted behind the Gentleman, away they post, fetch their compasse, & at last alight at the olde wiues house, where sodenly she is conuayd to her chamber, & the bridegroome sent to keep her company, wher he had scarse deuisd how to begin his exhortation : but the Father of his Bryde knockt at the chamber doore. At which being somewhat amazed, yet thinking to turne it to a ieast, sith his Wife (as hee thought) was in bed with him, hee opened the doore, saying : Father, you are hartily welcome, I wonder how you found vs out heere ; this deuise to remooue our selues, was with my wiues consent, that wee might rest quietly without the Maides and Batchelers disturbing. But wheres your Wife said the Gentleman ? why heere in bed saide hee. I thought (quoth the other) my daughter had beene your wife, for sure I am to day shee was giuen you in marriage. You are merrely disposed, said the Bridegroome, what thinke you I haue another wife ? I thinke but as you speake quoth the Gentleman, for my daughter is below, and you say your wife is in the bed. Below (said he) you are a merry man, and with that casting on a night gowne, hee went downe, where when he saw his wife, the Gentleman his Father, and a number of his friends assembled, hee was so confounded, that how to behaue himselfe he knew not ; onely he cryde out that he was deceiued. At this the old woman arises, and making her selfe ignoraunt of all the whole matter, inquires the cause of that sodayne tumult. When she was told the new Bridegroome was founde in bed with her daughter,

she exclaimd against so great an iniurie. *Marian* was calde in quorum: shee iustified, it was by his allurement: he being condemnd by all their consents, was adiudged vnworthy to haue the Gentlewoman vnto his Wife, and compeld (for escaping of punishment) to marrie *Marian*: and the young Gentleman (for his care in discouering the Farmers sonnes lewdnes) was recompenst with the Gentlewomans euer during loue.

Quoth *Lamilia*, and what of this? Nay nothing said *Roberto*, but that I haue told you the effects of sodaine loue: yet the best is, my brother is a maidenly Batchler; and for your selfe, you haue not beene troubled with many suiters. The fewer the better, said *Lucanio*. But brother, I con you little thanke for this tale, heereafter I pray you vse other table talke. Lets then end talk, quoth *Lamilia*, and you (signior *Lucanio*) and I will go to the Chesse. To Chesse, said he, what meane you by that? It is a game, said she, that the first daunger is but a checke, the worst, the giuing of a mate. Well, said *Roberto*, that game yee haue beene at already then, for you checkt him first with your beauty, & gaue your selfe for mate to him by your bounty. Thats wel taken brother, said *Lucanio*, so haue we past our game at Chesse. Wil ye play at Tables then, said she? I cannot, quoth hee, for I can goe no further with my game, if I be once taken. Will ye play then at cards. I said he, so it bee at one and thirtie. That fooles game, said she? Wele all to hazard, said *Roberto*, and brother you shall make one for an houre or two: content quoth he. So to dice they went, and fortune so fauored *Lucanio*, that while they continued square play, hee was no looser. Anone coosenage came about, and his

Angels being double winged, flew clean from before him. *Lamilia* being the winner, preparde a banquet; which finished, *Roberto* aduisde his brother to departe home, and to furnish himselfe with more Crownes, least hee were outcrackt with new commers.

Lucanio loath to be outcountenanst, followed his aduise, desiring to attend his returne, which hee before had determined vnrequested: For as soone as his brothers backe was turned, *Roberto* begins to recken with *Lamilia*, to bee a sharer as well in the money deceitfully wonne, as in the Diamond so wilfully giuen. But she, *secundum mores meretricis*, iested thus with the scholler. Why *Roberto*, are you so well read, and yet shewe your selfe so shallow witted, to deeme women so weake of conceit, that they see not into mens demerites. Suppose (to make you my stale to catch the woodcocke your brother) that my tongue ouer-running myne intent, I spake of liberall rewarde: but what I promist, theres the point; at least what I part with I will be well aduisde. It may be you will thus reason: Had not *Roberto* traind *Lucanio* vnto *Lamilias* lure, *Lucanio* had not now beene *Lamilias* pray: therefore sith by *Roberto* she possesseth the prize, *Roberto* merites an equal part. Monstrous absurd if so you reason; as wel you may reason thus: *Lamilias* dog hath kild her a Deere, therefore his Mistris must make him a pastie. No poore pennilesse Poet, thou art beguilde in mee, and yet I wonder how thou couldst, thou hast beene so often beguilde. But it fareth with licentious men, as with the chased Bore in the stream, who being greatly refresht with swimming, neuer feeleth anie smart vntill hee perish recurelesly wounded with his owne weapons. Reasonlesse *Roberto*, that hauing but

a brokers place, askest a lenders reward. Faithles *Roberto*, that hast attempted to betray thy brother, irreligiously forsaken thy Wife, deseruedly been in thy fathers eie an abiect: thinkst thou *Lamilia* so loose, to consort with one so lewd, No hypocrite, the sweet Gentleman thy brother, I will till death loue, & thee while I liue, loath. This share *Lamilia* giues thee, other getst thou none.

As *Roberto* would haue replide, *Lucanio* approcht: to whom *Lamilia* discourst the whole deceipt of his brother, & neuer rested intimating malitious arguments, til *Lucanio* vtterly refusde *Roberto* for his brother, & for euer forbad him his house. And when he would haue yeelded reasons, and formed excuse, *Lucanios* impatience (vrgd by her importunate malice) forbad all reasoning with them that was reasonlesse, and so giuing him Iacke Drums intertainment, shut him out of doores: whom we will follow, & leaue *Lucanio* to the mercie of *Lamilia.* *Roberto* in an extreme extasie, rent his haire, curst his destenie, blamd his trechery, but most of all exclaimd against *Lamilia*: and in her against all enticing Curtizans, in these tearms.

What meant the Poets in inuectiue verse,
To sing Medeas shame, and Scillas pride,
Calipsoes charmes, by which so many dyde?
Onely for this their vices they rehearse,
That curious wits which in this world conuerse,
May shun the dangers and enticing shoes,
Of such false Syrens, those home-breeding foes,
That from the eyes their venim do disperse.
So soone kils not the Basiliske with sight,
The Vipers tooth is not so venemous,
The Adders tung not halfe so dangerous,
As they that beare the shadow of delight,

Who chaine blind youths in tramels of their haire,
Till wast bring woe, and sorrow hast despaire.

With this he laid his head on his hand, and leant his elbow on the earth, sighing out sadly,

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis!

On the other side of the hedge sate one that heard his sorrow: who getting ouer, came towards him, and brake off his passion. When he approached, hee saluted *Roberto* in this sort.

Gentleman quoth hee (for so you seeme) I haue by chaunce heard you discourse some part of your greefe; which appeareth to be more than you will discouer, or I can conceipt. But if you vouchsafe such simple comforte as my abilitie may yeeld, assure your selfe, that I wil indeuour to doe the best, that either may procure you profite, or bring you pleasure: the rather, for that I suppose you are a scholler, and pittie it is men of learning should liue in lacke.

Roberto wondring to heare such good wordes, for that this iron age affoordes few that esteeme of vertue; returnd him thankfull gratulations, and (vrgde by necessitie) vttered his present griefe, beseeching his aduise how he might be imployed. Why, easily quoth hee, and greatly to your benefite: for men of my profession gette by schollers their whole liuing. What is your profession, said *Roberto*? Truly sir, saide hee, I am a player. A player, quoth *Roberto*, I tooke you rather for a Gentleman of great liuing, for if by outward habit men should be censured, I tell you, you would bee taken for a substantiall man. So am I where I dwell (quoth the player) reputed able at my proper cost to build a Windmill. What though the world once went hard with me, when I was faine to carry my playing

Fardle a footebacke ; *Tempora mutantur*, I know you know the meaning of it better than I, but I thus conster it, its otherwise now ; for my very share in playing apparell will not be sold for two hundred pounds. Truly (said *Roberto*) tis straunge, that you should so prosper in that vayne practise, for that it seemes to mee your voice is nothing gratious. Nay then, saide the Player, I mislike your iudgement : why, I am as famous for Delphrigus, & the King of Fairies, as euer was any of my time. The twelue labors of Hercules haue I terribly thundred on the Stage, and plaid three Scenes of the Deuill in the High way to heauen. Haue ye so (saide *Roberto* ?) then I pray you pardon me. Nay more (quoth the Player) I can serue to make a pretie speech, for I was a countrey Author, passing at a Morrall, for twas I that pende the Morrall of mans witte, the Dialogue of Diues, and for seuen yeers space was absolute Interpreter to the puppets. But now my Almanacke is out of date :

The people make no estimation,
Of Morrals teaching education.

Was not this prettie for a plaine rime extempore ? if ye will ye shall haue more. Nay its enough, said *Roberto*, but how meane you to vse mee ? Why sir, in making Playes, said the other, for which you shall be well paid, if you will take the paines.

Roberto perceiuing no remedie, thought best in respect of his present necessitie, to try his wit, & went with him willingly : who lodgd him at the Townes end in a house of retayle, where what happened our Poet, you shall after heare. There by conuersing with bad company, he grew *A malo in peius*, falling from one vice to another : and so

hauing founde a vaine to finger crowns, he grew cranker than *Lucanio,* who by this time began to droope, beeing thus dealt with by *Lamilia.* Shee hauing bewitched him with hir enticing wiles, caused him to consume in lesse than two yeeres that infinite treasure gathered by his father with so many a poore mans curse. His lands sold, his iewels pawnd, his money wasted, he was casseerd by *Lamilia*, that had coossend him of all. Then walkt he like one of Duke *Humfreys* Squires, in a thread-bare cloake, his hose drawne out with his heeles, his shooes vnseamed, least his feete should sweate with heat : now (as witlesse as hee was) he remembred his Fathers words, his vnkindnes to his brother, his carelesnes of himselfe. In this sorrow he sate down on pennilesse bench ; where when *Opus* and *Vsus* told him by the chymes in his stomacke it was time to fall vnto meat, he was faine with the *Camelion* to feed vpon the aire, and make patience his best repast.

While he was at this feast, *Lamilia* came flaunting by, garnished with the iewels wherof she beguiled him, which sight serued to close his stomacke after his cold cheare. *Roberto* hearing of his brothers beggery, albeit he had little remorse of his miserable state, yet did seeke him out, to vse him as a propertie, whereby *Lucanio* was somewhat prouided for. But beeing of simple nature, hee serued but for a blocke to whet *Robertoes* wit on : which the poore foole perceiuing, he forsooke all other hopes of life, and fell to be a notorious Pandar, in which detested course he continued till death. But *Roberto* now famozed for an Arch-plaimaking-poet, his purse like the sea somtime sweld, anon like the same sea fell to a low ebbe ; yet seldom he wanted, his

labors were so well esteemed. Marry this rule he kept, what euer he fingerd afore hand, was the certaine meanes to vnbinde a bargaine, and being askt why hee so slightly dealt with them that did him good? It becoms me, saith hee, to bee contrary to the worlde; for commonly when vulgar men receiue earnest, they doo performe, when I am paid any thing afore-hand, I breake my promise. He had shift of lodgings, where in euery place his Hostesse writ vp the wofull remembrance of him, his laundresse, and his boy; for they were euer his in houshold, beside retainers in sundry other places. His companie were lightly the lewdest persons in the land, apt for pilferie, periurie, forgerie, or any villainy. Of these hee knew the casts to cog at cards, coossen at Dice; by these he learnd the legerdemaines of nips, foystes, connycatchers, crosbyters, lifts, high Lawyers, and all the rabble of that vncleane generation of vipers: and pithily could he paint out their whole courses of craft: So cunning he was in all craftes, as nothing rested in him almost but craftines. How often the Gentlewoman his Wife labored vainely to recall him, is lamentable to note: but as one giuen ouer to all lewdnes, he communicated her sorrowfull lines among his loose truls, that iested at her bootlesse laments. If he could any way get credite on scores, he would then brag his creditors carried stones, comparing euery round circle to a groning O procured by a painfull burden. The shamefull ende of sundry his consorts deseruedly punished for their amisse, wrought no compunction in his heart: of which one, brother to a Brothell hee kept, was trust vnder a tree as round as a Ball.

To some of his swearing companions thus it

happened: A crue of them sitting in a Tauerne carowsing, it fortuned an honest Gentleman and his friend, to enter their roome: some of them beeing acquainted with him, in their domineering drunken vaine would haue no nay but downe hee must needes sitte with them; beeing placed, no remedie there was, but he must needes keepe euen compasse with their vnseemely carrowsing. Which he refusing, they fell from high words to sound strokes, so that with much adoo the Gentleman saued his owne, and shifted from their company. Being gone one of these tiplers forsooth lackt a gold Ring, the other sware they see the Gentleman take it from his hande. Vpon this the Gentleman was indited before a Iudge, these honest men are deposde: whose wisedome weighing the time of the braule, gaue light to the Iury, what power wine-washing poyson had, they according vnto conscience found the Gentleman not guiltie, and God released by that verdit the innocent.

With his accusers thus it fared: One of them for murder was worthily executed: the other neuer since prospered: the third, sitting not long after vpon a lustie horse, the beast sodenly dyde vnder him, God amend the man.

Roberto euery day acquainted with these examples, was notwithstanding nothing bettered, but rather hardened in wickednesse. At last was that place iustified, God warneth men by dreams and visions in the night, and by knowne examples in the day, but if hee returne not, hee comes vppon him with iudgement that shall bee felt. For now when the number of deceites caused *Roberto* bee hatefull almost to all men, his immeasurable drinking had made him the perfect Image of the dropsie, and the

loathsome scourge of Lust tyrannized in his bones: lying in extreame pouerty, and hauing nothing to pay but chalke, which now his Host accepted not for currant, this miserable man lay comfortlesly languishing, hauing but one groat left (the iust proportion of his Fathers Legacie) which looking on, he cryed: O now it is too late, too late to buy witte with thee: and therefore will I see if I can sell to carelesse youth what I negligently forgot to buy.

Heere (Gentlemen) breake I off *Robertoes* speach; whose life in most parts agreeing with mine, found one selfe punishment as I haue doone. Heere-after suppose me the saide *Roberto*, and I will goe on with that hee promised: *Greene* will send you now his groats-worth of wit, that neuer shewed a mites-worth in his life: & though no man now bee by to doo mee good: yet ere I die I will by my repentaunce indeuour to doo all men good.

Deceiuing world, that with alluring toyes,
Hast made my life the subiect of thy scorne:
And scornest now to lend thy fading ioyes,
To length my life, whom friends haue left forlorne.
How well are they that die ere they be borne,
Ane neuer see thy sleights, which few men shun,
Till vnawares they helpelesse are vndone.

Oft haue I sung of Loue, and of his fire,
But now I finde that Poet was aduizde;
Which made full feasts increasers of desire,
And proues weake loue was with the poore despizde.
For when the life with food is not suffizde,
What thought of Loue; what motion of delight;
What pleasance can proceed from such a wight?

Witnesse my want, the murderer of my wit ;
My rauisht sence of wonted furie reft ;
Wants such conceit, as should in Poems fit
Set downe the sorrow wherein I am left :
But therefore haue high heauens their gifts bereft :
Because so long they lent them mee to vse,
And I so long their bountie did abuse.

O that a yeare were graunted me to liue,
And for that yeare my former wits restorde :
What rules of life, what counsell would I giue ?
How should my sinne with sorrow be deplorde ?
But I must die of euery man abhorde.
Time loosely spent will not againe be wonne,
My time is loosely spent, and I vndone.

O horrenda fames, how terrible are thy assaults ? but *vermis conscientiæ*, more wounding are thy stings. Ah Gentlemen, that liue to read my broken and confused lines, looke not I should (as I was wont) delight you with vaine fantasies, but gather my follies altogether ; and as yee would deale with so many parricides, cast them into the fire : call them *Telegones*, for now they kil their Father, and euery lewd line in them written, is a deepe piercing wound to my heart ; euery idle houre spent by any in reading them, brings a million of sorrowes to my soule. O that the teares of a miserable man (for neuer any man was yet more miserable) might wash their memorie out with my death ; and that those works with mee together might bee interd. But sith they cannot, let this my last worke witnes against them with mee, how I detest them. Blacke is the remembrance of my blacke workes, blacker than night, blacker than death, blacker than hell.

Learne wit by my repentance (Gentlemen) and let these few rules following be regarded in your liues.

1 First in al your actions set God before your eies; for the feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisdome: Let his word be a lanterne to your feet, and a light vnto your paths, then shall you stand as firme rocks, and not be mocked.

2 Beware of looking backe, for God will not bee mocked; and of him that hath receiued much, much shal be demaunded.

3 If thou be single, and canst abstain, turne thy eies from vanitie; for there is a kinde of women bearing the faces of Angels, but the hearts of Deuils, able to intrap the elect if it were possible.

4 If thou bee married, forsake not the wife of thy youth to follow straunge flesh; for whoremongers and adulterers the Lord will iudge. The doore of a harlot leadeth downe to death, and in her lips there dwels destruction; her face is decked with odors, but she bringeth a man to a morsell of bread and nakednes: of which my selfe am instance.

5 If thou be left rich, remember those that want, & so deale, that by thy wilfulnes thy selfe want not: Let not Tauerners and Victuallers be thy Executors; for they will bring thee to a dishonorable graue.

6 Oppresse no man; for the crie of the wronged ascendeth to the eares of the Lord: neyther delight to increase by Vsurie, least thou loose thy habitation in the euerlasting Tabernacle.

7 Beware of building thy house to thy neighbors hurt; for the stones will crie to the timber; Wee were laid together in bloud: and those that so erect houses, calling them by their names, shall lie in the graue lyke Sheepe, and death shall gnaw vpon their soules.

8 If thou be poore, be also patient, and striue not to grow rich by indirect meanes ; for goods so gotten shal vanish like smoke.

9 If thou bee a Father, Maister, or Teacher, ioyne good example with good counsaile ; else little auaile precepts, where life is different.

10 If thou be a Sonne or Seruant, despise not reproofe ; for though correction bee bitter at the first, it bringeth pleasure in the end.

Had I regarded the first of these rules, or beene obedient to the last ; I had not now at my last ende, beene left thus desolate. But now, though to my selfe I giue *Consilium post facta* ; yet to others they may serue for timely precepts. And therefore (while life giues leaue) I will send warning to my olde consorts, which haue liued as loosely as my selfe, albeit weaknesse will scarse suffer me to write, yet to my fellow Schollers about this Cittie, will I direct these few insuing lines.

To those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plaies, R. G. *wisheth a better exercise, and wisdome to preuent his extremities.*

IF wofull experience may moue you (Gentlemen) to beware, or vnheard of wretchednes intreate you to take heed : I doubt not but you wil looke backe with sorrow on your time past, and indeuour with repentance to spend that which is to come. Wonder not, (for with thee wil I first begin) thou famous gracer of Tragedians, that *Greene,* who hath said with thee (like the foole in his heart) There is no God, shoulde now giue glorie vnto his greatnes : for penetrating is his power, his hand lyes heauie

vpon me, hee hath spoken vnto mee with a voice of thunder, and I haue felt he is a God that can punish enemies. Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, bee so blinded, that thou shouldst giue no glorie to the giuer? Is it pestilent Machiuilian pollicy that thou hast studied? O peeuish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time the generation of mankind. For if *Sic volo, sic iubeo*, hold in those that are able to commaund: and if it be lawfull *Fas & nefas* to do any thing that is beneficiall; onely Tyrants should possesse the earth, and they striuing to exceed in tyrannie, should each to other be a slaughter man; till the mightiest outliuing all, one stroke were lefte for Death, that in one age mans life should end. The brocher of this Diabolicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had neuer the felicitie hee aymed at: but as he began in craft; liued in feare, and ended in despaire. *Quàm inscrutabilia sunt Dei iudicia?* This murderer of many brethren, had his conscience seared like *Caine*: this betrayer of him that gaue his life for him, inherited the portion of *Iudas*: this Apostata perished as ill as *Iulian*: and wilt thou my friend be his disciple? Looke but to me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt find it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable death, but wilfull striuing against knowne truth, exceedeth all the terrors of my soule. Defer not (with me) till this last point of extremitie; for little knowst thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.

With thee I ioyne yong *Iuuenall*, that byting Satyrist, that lastly with mee together writ a Comedie. Sweet boy, might I aduise thee, be

aduisde, and get not many enemies by bitter wordes: inueigh against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better, no man so well: thou hast a libertie to reprooue all, and name none; for one being spoken to, all are offended; none being blamed no man is iniured. Stop shallow water still running, it will rage, or tread on a worme and it will turne: then blame not Schollers vexed with sharpe lines, if they reproue thy too much liberty of reproofe.

And thou no lesse deseruing than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driuen (as my selfe) to extreme shifts, a litle haue I to say to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art vnworthy better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men all three of you, if by my miserie you be not warnd: for vnto none of you (like mee) sought those burres to cleaue: those Puppets (I meane) that spake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange, that I, to whom they all haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they all haue beene beholding, shall (were yee in that case as I am now) bee both at once of them forsaken? Yes trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde,* supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute *Iohannes fac totum,* is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrey. O that I might intreat your rare wits to be imploied in more profitable courses: & let those Apes imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your admired inuentions. I knowe the best

husband of you all will neuer proue an Vsurer, and the kindest of them all will neuer proue a kind nurse : yet whilest you may, seeke you better Maisters ; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subiect to the pleasure of such rude groomes.

In this I might insert two more, that both haue writ against these buckram Gentlemen : but lette their owne workes serue to witnesse against their owne wickednesse, if they perseuere to maintaine any more such peasants. For other new-commers, I leaue them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who (I doubt not) will driue the best minded to despise them : for the rest, it skils not though they make a ieast at them.

But now returne I againe to you three, knowing my miserie is to you no newes : and let mee hartily intreat you to be warned by my harms. Delight not (as I haue done) in irreligious oathes ; for from the blasphemers house, a curse shall not depart. Despise drunkennes, which wasteth the wit, and maketh men all equall vnto beasts. Flie lust, as the deathsman of the soule, and defile not the Temple of the holy Ghost. Abhorre those Epicures, whose loose life hath made religion lothsome to your eares : and when they sooth you with tearms of Maistership, remember *Robert Greene,* whome they haue often so flattered, perishes now for want of comfort. Remember Gentlemen, your liues are like so many lighted Tapers, that are with care deliuered to all of you to maintaine : these with wind-puft wrath may be extinguisht, which drunkennes put out, which negligence let fall : for mans time is not of it selfe so short, but it is more shortned by sinne. The fire of my light is now at the last snuffe, and for want of wherewith to sustaine it,

there is no substance lefte for life to feede on. Trust not then (I beseech ye) to such weake staies: for they are as changeable in minde, as in many attyres. Wel, my hand is tyrde, and I am forst to leaue where I would begin: for a whole booke cannot containe their wrongs, which I am forst to knit vp in some fewe lines of words.

Desirous that you should liue,
though himselfe be dying:
Robert Greene.

Now to all men I bid farewel in like sort, with this conceited Fable of that olde Comedian *Aesope.*

AN Ant and a Grashopper walking together on a Greene, the one carelesly skipping, the other carefully prying what winters prouision was scattered in the way: the Grashopper scorning (as wantons will) this needlesse thrift (as hee tearmed it) reprooued him thus:

The greedy miser thirsteth still for gaine,
His thrift is theft, his weale works others woe:
That foole is fond which will in caues remaine,
When mongst faire sweets he may at pleasure goe.

To this the Ant perceiuing the Grashoppers meaning, quickly replyde:

The thriftie husband spares what vnthrift spends,
His thrift no theft, for dangers to prouide:
Trust to thy selfe, small hope in want yeeld friends,
A caue is better than the deserts wide.

In short time these two parted, the one to his pleasure, the other to his labour. Anon Haruest grew on, and reft from the Grashopper his woonted

moysture. Then weakly skipt hee to the medowes brinks : where till fell winter he abode. But storms continually powring, hee went for succour to the Ant his olde acquaintance, to whom hee had scarce discouered his estate, but the waspish little worme made this reply.

Packe hence (quoth he) thou idle lazie worme,
My house doth harbor no vnthriftie mates :
Thou scorndst to toile, & now thou feelst the storme,
And starust for food while I am fed with cates.
Vse no intreats, I will relentlesse rest,
For toyling labour hates an idle guest.

The Grashopper foodlesse, helplesse and strengthles, got into the next brooke, and in the yeelding sand digde for himselfe a pit : by which hee likewise ingrau'de this Epitaph.

When Springs greene prime arrayd me with delight,
And euery power with youthfull vigor fild,
Gaue strength to worke what euer fancie wild :
I neuer feard the force of winters spight.

When first I saw the sunne the day begin,
And dry the Mornings tears from hearbs and grasse ;
I little thought his chearefull light would passe,
Till vgly night with darknes enterd in.
And then day lost I mournd, spring past I wayld,
But neither teares for this or that auailde.

Then too too late I praisd the Emmets paine,
That sought in spring a harbor gainst the heate :
And in the haruest gathered winters meat,
Preuenting famine, frosts, and stormy raine.

My wretched end may warn Greene springing youth
To vse delights, as toyes that will deceiue,
And scorne the world before the world them leaue :
For all worlds trust, is ruine without ruth.
Then blest are they that like the toyling Ant,
Prouide in time gainst winters wofull want.

With this the Grashopper yeelding to the wethers extremit, died comfortles without remedy. Like him my selfe : like me, shall all that trust to friends or times inconstancie. Now faint I of my last infirmity, beseeching them that shall burie my bodie, to publish this last farewell written with my wretched hand.

Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.

A letter written to his wife, founde with this booke after his death.

The remembrance of the many wrongs offred thee, and thy vnreproued vertues, adde greater sorrow to my miserable state, than I can vtter or thou conceiue. Neither is it lessened by consideration of thy absence, (though shame would hardly let me behold thy face) but exceedingly aggrauated, for that I cannot (as I ought) to thy owne selfe reconcile my selfe, that thou mightst witnes my inward woe at this instant, that haue made thee a wofull wife for so long a time. But equall heauen hath denide that comfort, giuing at my last neede like succour as I haue sought all my life : being in this extremitie as voide of helpe, as thou hast beene of hope. Reason would, that after so long wast, I should not send thee a child to bring thee greater charge ; but consider he is the fruit of thy wombe,

in whose face regarde not the Fathers faults so much, as thy owne perfections. He is yet Greene, and may grow straight, if he be carefully tended: otherwise, apt enough (I feare mee) to follow his Fathers folly. That I haue offended thee highly I knowe, that thou canst forget my iniuries I hardly beleeue: yet perswade I my selfe, if thou saw my wretched estate, thou couldst not but lament it: nay certainly I know thou wouldst. All my wrongs muster themselues before mee, euery euill at once plagues mee. For my contempt of God, I am contemned of men: for my swearing and forswearing, no man will beleeue me: for my gluttony, I suffer hunger: for my drunkennes, thirst: for my adultery, vlcerous sores. Thus God hath cast me downe, that I might be humbled: and punished me for example of other sinners: and although he strangely suffers me in this world to perish without succor, yet trust I in the world to come to find mercie, by the merites of my Sauiour to whom I commend thee, and commit my soule.

Thy repentant husband for his disloyaltie, Robert Greene.

Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.

FINIS.

KEMP'S
NINE DAYS' WONDER
PERFORMED IN A DANCE FROM LONDON TO NORWICH

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF TO SATISFY HIS FRIENDS

WILLIAM KEMP

Fl. 1600

KEMPS NINE DAIES WONDER. PERFORMED IN A DAUNCE FROM LONDON TO NORWICH

[1600. Kemp was a popular comic actor of his time, and as such no doubt took part in stage burlesques of contemporary religious controversialists, who make more than one reference to him in their pamphlets. Thus, in the dedication to *An Almond for a Parrat* (1589), he is addressed as 'that most Comicall and Conceited Cavaliero, Monsieur Kempe'; and again, in the same publication, as 'Signor Chiarlatano Kempe'. Though noted as a player, Kemp's special accomplishment was dancing, both in the theatres and on the roads. His 'famous morrisse unto Norwich', here described, was but one of several such feats of endurance, for certain of which he visited France and Italy. The title-page of the first edition of the *Nine daies wonder* bears a woodcut representation of Kemp on the road, with plumed hat, and flowing sleeves, his calves embellished with numerous small bells. Neither William Bee nor George Sprat appears in the picture, but Thomas Slye is there, with tabor and pipe.]

To the true Ennobled Lady, and his most bountifull Mistris, Mistris Anne Fitton, Mayde of Honour to the most sacred Mayde, Royall Queene Elizabeth.

Honorable Mistris, in the waine of my litle wit I am forst to desire your protection, else euery Ballad-singer will proclaime me bankrupt of honesty. A sort of mad fellows, seeing me merrily dispos'd in a Morrice, haue so bepainted mee in print since my gambols began from London to Norwich, that (hauing but an ill face before) I shall appeare to the world without a face, if your fayre hand wipe not away their foule coulors. One hath written *Kemps farewell* to the tune of Kery, mery, Buffe ; another, His desperate daungers in his late trauaile ; the third, His entertainement to New-Market ; which towne I came neuer neere by the length of halfe the heath. Some sweare, in a Trenchmore I haue trode a good way to winne the world ; others that guesse righter, affirme, I haue without good help daunst my selfe out of the world ; many say many thinges that were neuer thought. But, in a word, your poore seruant offers the truth of his progresse and profit to your honorable view : receiue it, I beseech you, such as it is, rude and plaine ; for I know your pure iudgement lookes as soone to see beauty in a Blackamoore, or heare smooth speech from a Stammerer, as to finde any thing but blunt mirth in a Morrice dauncer, especially such a one as Will Kemp, that hath spent his life in mad Iigges and merry iestes. Three reasons mooue mee to make

publik this iourney: one to reproue lying fooles I neuer knew; the other to commend louing friends, which by the way I daily found; the third to shew my duety to your honorable selfe, whose fauours (among other bountifull friends) makes me (dispight of this sad world) iudge my hart Corke and my heeles feathers, so that me thinkes I could flye to Rome (at least hop to Rome, as the olde Prouerb is) with a morter on my head. In which light conceite I lowly begge pardon and leaue, for my Tabrer strikes his huntsup, I must to Norwich: Imagine, noble Mistris, I am now setting from my Lord Mayors, the houre about seauen, the morning gloomy, the company many, my hart merry.

Your worthy Ladiships most
vnworthy seruant,
WILLIAM KEMP.

KEMPS

NINE DAIES WONDER,

PERFORMED IN A MORRICE FROM LONDON TO NORWICH.

Wherein euery dayes iourney is pleasantly set downe, to satisfie his friends the truth against all lying Ballad-makers ; what he did, how hee was welcome, and by whome entertained.

The first daies iourney, being the first Munday in cleane Lent, from the right honorable the Lord Mayors of London.

THE first mundaye in Lent, the close morning promising a cleere day, (attended on by Thomas Slye my Taberer, William Bee my seruant, and George Sprat, appointed for my ouerseer, that I should take no other ease but my prescribed order) my selfe, thats I, otherwise called Caualiero Kemp, head-master of Morrice-dauncers, high Headborough of heighs, and onely tricker of your Trill-lilles and best bel-shangles betweene Sion and mount Surrey,[1] began frolickly to foote it from the right honorable the Lord Mayors of London towards the right worshipfull (and truely bountifull) Master Mayors of Norwich.

[1] Sion neere Brainford, and Mount Surrey by Norwich.

My setting forward was somewhat before seauen in the morning ; my Taberer stroke up merrily ; and as fast as kinde peoples thronging together would giue mee leaue, thorow London I leapt. By the way many good olde people, and diuers others of yonger yeers, of meere kindnes gaue me bowd sixepences and grotes, blessing me with their harty prayers and God-speedes.

Being past White-chappell, and hauing left faire London with all that North-east Suburb before named, multitudes of Londoners left not me : but eyther to keepe a custome which many holde, that Mile-end is no walke without a recreation at Stratford Bow with Creame and Cakes, or else for loue they beare toward me, or perhappes to make themselues merry if I should chance (as many thought) to giue over my Morrice within a Mile of Mile-end ; how euer, many a thousand brought me to Bow ; where I rested a while from dancing, but had small rest with those that would haue vrg'd me to drinking. But, I warrant you, Will Kemp was wise enough : to their ful cups, kinde thanks was my returne, with Gentlemanlike protestations, as 'Truely, sir, I dare not,' 'It stands not with the congruity of my health.' Congruitie, said I ? how came that strange language in my mouth ? I thinke scarcely that it is any Christen worde, and yet it may be a good worde for ought I knowe, though I neuer made it, nor doe verye well understand it ; yet I am sure I have bought it at the word-mongers at as deare a rate as I could haue had a whole 100 of Bauines at the wood-mongers. Farwell, Congruitie, for I meane now to be more concise, and stand upon eeuener bases ; but I must neither stand nor sit, the Tabrer strikes alarum. Tickle it, good

Tom, Ile follow thee. Farwell, Bowe; haue ouer the bridge, where I heard say honest Conscience was once drownd: its pittye if it were so; but thats no matter belonging to our Morrice, lets now along to Stratford Langton.

Many good fellows being there met, and knowing how well I loued the sporte, had prepared a Beare-bayting; but so unreasonable were the multitudes of people, that I could only heare the Beare roare and the dogges howle; therefore forward I went with my hey-de-gaies to Ilford, where I againe rested, and was by the people of the towne and countrey there-about very very wel welcomed, being offred carowses in the great spoon,[1] one whole draught being able at that time to haue drawne my little wit drye; but being afrayde of the olde Prouerbe (He had need of a long spoone that eates with the deuill), I soberly gaue my boone Companyons the slip.

From Ilford, by Moone-shine, I set forward, dauncing within a quarter of a myle of Romford; where, in the highway, two strong Iades (hauing belike some great quarrell to me vnknowne) were beating and byting either of other; and such through Gods help was my good hap, that I escaped their hoofes, both being raysed with their fore feete ouer my head, like two Smithes ouer an Anuyle.

There being the end of my first dayes Morrice, a kinde Gentleman of London lighting from his horse, would haue no nay but I should leap into his saddle. To be plaine with ye, I was not proud, but kindly tooke his kindlyer offer, chiefely thereto

[1] A great spoone in Ilford, holding aboue a quart.

vrg'd by my wearines ; so I rid to my Inne at Romford.

In that towne, to giue rest to my well-labour'd limbes, I continued two dayes, being much beholding to the townsmen for their loue, but more to the Londoners that came hourely thither in great numbers to visite me, offring much more kindnes then I was willing to accept.

The second dayes iourney, beeing Thursday of the first weeke.

Thursday being Market day at Burnt-wood, Tom Slye was earlyer up then the Lark, and sounded merrily the Morrice : I rowsed my selfe, and returned from Romford to the place wher I tooke horse the first night, dauncing that quarter of a myle backe againe thorow Romford, and so merily to Burnt-wood. Yet, now I remember it well, I had no great cause of mirth, for at Romford townes end I strained my hip, and for a time indured exceeding paine ; but being loath to trouble a Surgeon, I held on, finding remedy by labour that had hurt mee, for it came in a turne, and so in my daunce I turned it out of my seruice againe.

The multitudes were so great at my comming to Burntwood, that I had much a doe (though I made many intreaties and staies) to get passage to my Inne.

In this towne two Cut-purses were taken, that with other two of their companions followed mee from London (as many better disposed persons did) : but these two dy-doppers gaue out when they were apprehended, that they had laid wagers and betted about my iourney ; wherupon the Officers bringing them to my Inne, I iustly denyed their acquaintance,

sauing that I remembred one of them to be a noted Cut-purse, such a one as we tye to a poast on our stage, for all people to wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfring.

This fellow, and his half-brother, being found with the deed, were sent to Iayle: their other two consorts had the charity of the towne, and after a dance of Trenchmore at the whipping crosse, they were sent backe to London, where I am afraide there are too many of their occupation. To bee short, I thought myselfe well rid of foure such followers, and I wish hartily that the whole world were cleer of such companions.

Hauing rested well at Burntwood, the Moone shining clearely, and the weather being calme, in the euening I tript it to Ingerstone, stealing away from those numbers of people that followed mee; yet doe I what I could, I had aboue fiftie in the company, some of London, the other of the Country thereabout, that would needs, when they heard my Taber, trudge after me through thicke and thin.

The third dayes iourney, being Friday of the first weeke.

On Friday morning I set forward towardes Chelmsford, not hauing past two hundred, being the least company that I had in the day-time betweene London and that place. Onward I went, thus easily followed, till I come to Witford-bridge, where a number of country people, and many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were gathered together to see mee. Sir Thomas Mildmay, standing at his Parke pale, receiued gently a payre of garters of me; gloues, points, and garters, being my ordinary marchandize,

that I put out to venter for performance of my merry voyage.

So much a doe I had to passe by the people at Chelmsford, that it was more than an houre ere I could recouer my Inne gate, where I was faine to locke my selfe in my Chamber, and pacifie them with wordes out of a window insteed of deeds : to deale plainely, I was so weary, that I could dance no more.

The next morning I footed it three myle of my way toward Braintree, but returned backe againe to Chelmsford, where I lay that Satterday and the next Sunday. The good cheere and kinde welcome I had at Chelmsford was much more than I was willing to entertaine ; for my onely desire was to refraine drinke and be temperate in my dyet.

At Chelmsford, a Mayde not passing foureteene yeares of age, dwelling with one Sudley, my kinde friend, made request to her Master and Dame that she might daunce the Morrice with me in a great large roome. They being intreated, I was soone wonne to fit her with bels ; besides she would haue the olde fashion, with napking on her armes ; and to our iumps we fell. A whole houre she held out ; but then being ready to lye downe I left her off ; but thus much in her praise, I would haue challenged the strongest man in Chelmsford, and amongst many I thinke few would haue done so much.

The fourth dayes iourney, beeing Munday of the second weeke.

On Munday morning, very early, I rid the 3 myles that I daunst the satterday before ; where alighting, my Taberer strucke up, and lightly I tript forward ;

but I had the heauiest way that euer mad Morrice-dancer trod; yet,

With hey and ho, through thicke and thin,
  The hobby horse quite forgotten,
I follow'd, as I did begin,
  Although the way were rotten.

This foule way I could finde no ease in, thicke woods being on eyther side the lane; the lane likewise being full of deep holes, sometimes I skipt vp to the waste; but it is an old Prouerb, that it is a little comfort to the miserable to haue companions, and amidst this miry way I had some mirth by an vnlookt for accident.

It was the custome of honest Country fellows, my vnknowne friends, upon hearing of my Pype (which might well be heard in a still morning or euening a myle), to get vp and beare mee company a little way. In this foule way two pretty plaine youthes watcht me, and with their kindnes somewhat hindred me. One, a fine light fellow, would be still before me, the other euer at my heeles. At length, comming to a broad plash of water and mud, which could not be auoyded, I fetcht a rise, yet fell in ouer the anckles at the further end. My youth that follow'd me tooke his iump, and stuck fast in the midst, crying out to his companion, 'Come, George, call yee this dauncing? Ile goe no further,' for, indeede hee could goe no further, till his fellow was faine to wade and help him out. I could not chuse but lough to see howe like two frogges they laboured: a hartye farwell I gaue them, and they faintly bad God speed me, saying if I daunst that durtie way this seauen yeares againe, they would neuer daunce after me.

Well, with much a doo I got unto Braintree by noone, tarried there Munday night and the next day; onely I daunst three miles on Tewsday, to ease my Wednesdaies iourney.

If I should deny that I was welcome at Braintree, I should slander an honest crew of kind men, among whome I far'd well, slept well, and was euery way well usde.

The fift dayes iourney, being Wednesday of the second weeke.

Taking aduantage of my 3 miles that I had daunst y^e day before, this wednesday morning I tript it to Sudbury; whether came to see a very kinde Gentleman, Master Foskew, that had before trauailed a foote from London to Barwick, who, giuing me good counsaile to obserue temperate dyet for my health, and other aduise to bee carefull of my company, besides his liberall entertainment, departed, leauing me much indebted to his loue.

In this towne of Sudbury there came a lusty, tall fellow, a butcher by his profession, that would in a Morrice keepe mee company to Bury: I being glad of his friendly offer, gaue him thankes, and forward wee did set; but ere euer wee had measur'd halfe a mile of our way, he gaue me ouer in the plain field, protesting, that if he might get a 100 pound, he would not hold out with me; for indeed my pace in dauncing is not ordinary.

As he and I were parting, a lusty Country lasse being among the people, cal'd him faint hearted lout, saying, 'If I had begun to daunce, I would haue held out one myle though it had cost my life.' At which wordes many laughed. 'Nay,' saith she, 'if the Dauncer will lend me a leash of his belles,

Ile venter to treade one mile with him my selfe.' I lookt vpon her, saw mirth in her eies, heard boldnes in her words, and beheld her ready to tucke vp her russet petticoate; I fitted her with bels, which she merrily taking, garnisht her thicke short legs, and with a smooth brow bad the Tabrer begin. The Drum strucke; forward marcht I with my merry Maydemarian, who shooke her fat sides, and footed it merrily to Melfoord, being a long myle. There parting with her, I gaue her (besides her skinfull of drinke) an English crowne to buy more drinke; for, good wench, she was in a pittious heate: my kindnes she requited with dropping some dozen of short courtsies, and bidding God blesse the Dauncer. I bad her adieu; and to giue her her due, she had a good eare, daunst truely, and wee parted friendly. But ere I part with her, a good fellow, my friend, hauin writ an odde Rime of her, I will make bolde to set it downe.

A Country Lasse, browne as a berry,
Blith of blee, in heart as merry,
Cheekes well fed, and sides well larded,
Euery bone with fat flesh guarded,
Meeting merry Kemp by chaunce,
Was Marrian in his Morrice daunce.
Her stump legs with bels were garnisht,
Her browne browes with sweating varnisht;
Her browne hips, when she was lag
To win her ground, went swig a swag;
Which to see all that came after
Were repleate with mirthfull laughter.
Yet she thumpt it on her way
With a sportly hey de gay:
At a mile her daunce she ended,
Kindly paide and well commended.

At Melford diuers Gentlemen met mee, who brought me to one Master Colts, a very kinde and worshipfull Gentleman, where I had vnexpected entertainment till the Satterday. From whose house, hauing hope somewhat to amend my way to Bury, I determined to goe by Clare, but I found it to be both farther and fouler.

The sixt dayes iourney, being Satterday of the second weeke.

From Wednesday night til Satterday hauing bin very troublesome but much more welcome to master Colts, in the morning I tooke my leaue, and was accompanied with many Gentlemen a myle of my way. Which myle master Colts his foole would needs daunce with me, and had his desire, where leauing me, two fooles parted faire in a foule way ; I keeping on my course to Clare, where I a while rested, and then cheerefully set forward to Bury.

Passing from Clare towards Bury, I was inuited to the house of a very bountifull widdow, whose husband during his life was a Yeoman of that Countrie ; dying rich no doubt, as might well appeare, by the riches and plentie that abounded in euery corner of the house. She is called the widdow Eueret.

At her house were met aboue thirty Gentlemen. Such, and so plentifull variety of good fare I haue very sildome seene in any Commoners house. Her behauiour being very modest and freendly, argued her bringing vp not to be rude. She was a woman of good presence, and, if a foole may iudge, of no smal discretion.

From this widdowes I daunst to Bury, comming

in on the Satterday in the afternoone, at what time the right Honorable the Lord Chiefe Justice entred at an other gate of the towne. The wondring and regardles multitude making his honor cleere way, left the streetes where he past to gape at me; the throng of them being so great that poore Will Kemp was seauen times stayed ere hee could recouer his Inne. By reason of the great snow that then fell, I stayd at Bury from Satterday in the second week of my setting foorth til Thursday night the next weeke following.

The seauenth dayes iourney, being Friday of the third weeke.

Vpon Fryday morning I set on towardes Thetford, dauncing that tenne mile in three houres; for I left Bury somewhat after seauen in the morning, and was at Thetford somewhat after ten that same forenoone. But, indeed, considering how I had been booted the other iourneys before, and that all this way, or the most of it, was ouer a heath, it was no great wonder; for I far'd like one that had escaped the stockes, and tride the vse of his legs to out-run the Constable: so light was my heeles, that I counted the ten mile no better than a leape.

At my entrance into Thetford the people came in great numbers to see mee; for there were many there, being Size time. The noble Gentleman, Sir Edwin Rich, gaue me entertainment in such bountifull and liberal sort, during my continuance there Satterday and Sunday, that I want fitte words to expresse the least part of his worthy vsage of my vnworthines; and to conclude liberally as hee had begun and continued, at my departure on Munday his worship gaue me fiue pound.

The eyght dayes iourney, being Munday of the fourth weeke.

On Munday morning I daunst to Rockland ere I rested, and comming to my Inne, where the Hoast was a very boone companion, I desir'd to see him; but in no case he would be spoken with till he had shifted himselfe from his working dayes sute. Being armed at all poyntes, from the cap to the codpeece, his blacke shooes shining and made straght with copper buckles of the best, his garters in the fashion, and euery garment fitting Corremsquandam (to use his owne word), hee enters the Hall, with his bonnet in his hand, began to crye out:

'O Kemp, deere Master Kemp! you are euen as welcome as—as—as—,' and so stammering he began to study for a fit comparison, and, I thanke him, at last he fitted me; for saith he, 'thou art euen as welcome as the Queenes best grey-hound.' After this dogged yet well-meaning salutation, the Carrowses were called in; and my friendly Hoast of Rockland began withall this, blessing the houre vppon his knees, that any of the Queenes Maiesties well-willers or friends would vouchsafe to come within his house; as if neuer any such had been within his doores before.

I tooke his good meaning, and gaue him great thankes for his kindenesse; and hauing rested mee well, began to take my course for Hingham, whether my honest Hoast of Rockland would needs be my guide: but, good true fat-belly, he had not followed mee two fieldes, but he lyes all along, and cryes after me to come backe and speake with him. I fulfild his request: and comming to him, 'Dauncer,' quoth hee, 'if thou daunce a Gods name, God speede

thee ! I cannot follow thee a foote farther ; but adieu, good dauncer ; God speed thee, if thou daunce a Gods name ! '

I, hauing haste of my way, and he being able to keep no way, there wee parted. Farewell he : he was a kinde good fellow, a true Troyan ; and if euer be my lucke to meete him at more leasure, Ile make him full amendes with a Cup full of Canarie. But nowe I am a little better aduis'd, wee must not thus let my madde Hoast passe ; for my friend, late mentioned before, that made the odde rime on my Maide-marian, would needes remember my Hoast. Such as it is, Ile bluntly set downe.

He was a man not ouer spare ;
In his eyebals dwelt no care.
' Anon, anon,' and ' Welcome, friend,'
Were the most words he vsde to spend,
Saue sometime he would sit and tell
What wonders once in Bullayne fell,
Closing each Period of his tale
With a full cup of Nut-browne Ale.
Turwin and Turneys siedge were hot,
Yet all my Hoast remembers not :
Kets field and Muscleborough fray
Were battles fought but yesterday.
' O, 'twas a goodly matter then
To see your sword and buckler men !
They would lye heere, and here and there,
But I would meete them euery where :
And now a man is but a pricke ;
A boy, arm'd with a poating sticke,
Will dare to challenge Cutting Dicke,
O 'tis a world the world to see !
But twill not mend for thee nor mee.'

By this some guest cryes ‘ Ho, the house ! ’
A fresh friend hath a fresh carouse :
Still he will drinke, and still be dry,
And quaffe with euery company.
Saint Martin send him merry mates,
To enter at his hostree gates !
For a blither lad than he
Cannot an Inkeeper be.

Well, once againe farewell mine Hoast at Rockland. After all these farewels, I am sure to Hingham I found a foule way, as before I had done from Thetford to Rockland.

Yet, besides the deep way, I was much hindred by the desire people had to see me. For euen as our Shop-keepers will hayle and pull a man with ‘ Lack ye ? what do you lack, Gentlemen ? ’ ‘ My ware is best,’ cryes one, ‘ Mine best in England,’ sayes an other, ‘ Heere shall you haue choyse,’ saith the third ; so was the dyuers voyces of the young men and Maydens, which I should meete at euerie myles ende, thronging by twentie, and sometime fortie, yea, hundreths in a companie ; one crying ‘ The fayrest way was thorow their Village,’ another, ‘ This is the nearest and fayrest way, when you haue past but a myle and a halfe ; ’ an other sort crie ‘ Turne on the left hand,’ some ‘ On the right hand ; ’ that I was so amazed I knewe not sometime which way I might best take ; but haphazard, the people still accompanying me, wherewith I was much comforted, though the wayes were badde ; but as I said before at last I ouertooke it.

The ninth dayes iourney, being Wednesday of the fourth weeke.

The next morning I left Hingham, not staying till I came to Barford-bridge, fiue young men running all the way with me, for otherwise my pace was not for footemen.

From Barford bridge I daunst to Norwich; but comming within sight of the Citty, perceiuing so great a multitude and throng of people still crowding more and more about me, mistrusting it would be a let to my determined expedition and pleasurable humour, which I long before conceiued to delight this Citty with (so far as my best skill and industry of my long trauelled sinewes could affoord them), I was aduised, and so tooke ease by that aduise, to stay my Morrice a little aboue Saint Giles his gate, where I tooke my gelding, and so rid into the Citty, procrastinating my merry Morrice daunce through the Citty till better opportunitie.

Being come into the Citty, Master Roger Wiler the Maior, and sundry other of his worshipfull Brethren, sent for me; who perceiuing howe I intended not to daunce into the Cittye that nyght, and being well satisfied with the reasons, they allotted me time enough not to daunce in till Satterday after; to the end that diuers knights and Gentlemen, together with their wiues and children (who had beene many dayes before deceyued with expectation of my comming), might nowe haue sufficient warning accordingly by satterday following.

In the meane space, and during my still continuaunce in the Cittye afterwardes, they not onely very courteously offered to beare mine owne charges and my followers, but very bountifully performed it at

the common charges: the Mayor and many of the Aldermen often times besides inuited vs priuately to theyr seuerall houses.

To make a short end of this tedious description of my entertainment; Satterday no sooner came but I returned without the Citty through Saint Giles his gate, and beganne my Morrice where I left at that gate, but I entred in at Saint Stephens gate, where one Thomas Gilbert in name of all the rest of the Cittizens gaue me a friendly and exceeding kind welcome; which I haue no reason to omit, vnlesse I would condemne my selfe of ingratitude, partlye for the priuate affection of the writer towardes me, as also for the generall loue and fauour I found in them from the highest to the lowest, the richest as the poorest. It followes in these few lynes.

Master Kemp his welcome to Norwich.

W With hart, and hand, among the rest,
E Especially you welcome are:
L Long looked for as welcome guest,
C Come now at last you be from farre.
O Of most within the Citty, sure,
M Many good wishes you haue had;
E Each one did pray you might indure,
W With courage good the match you made.
I Intend they did with gladsome hearts,
L Like your well willers, you to meete:
K Know you also they'l doe their parts,
E Eyther in field or house to greete
M More you then any with you came,
P Procur'd thereto with trump and fame.

your well-willer,
T. G.

Passing the gate, Wifflers (such Officers as were appointed by the Mayor) to make me way through the throng of the people which prest so mightily vpon me, with great labour I got thorow that narrow preaze into the open market place; where on the crosse, ready prepared, stood the Citty Waytes, which not a little refreshed my wearines with toyling thorow so narrow a lane as the people left me: such Waytes (under Benedicite be it spoken) fewe Citties in our Realme haue the like, none better; who, besides their excellency in wind instruments, their rare cunning on the Vyoll and Violin, theyr voices be admirable, euerie one of them able to serue in any Cathedrall Church in Christendoome for Quiristers.

Passing by the Market place, the presse still increasing by the number of boyes, girles, men and women, thronging more and more before me to see the end; it was the mischaunce of a homely maide, that, belike, was but newly crept into the fashion of long wasted peticotes tyde with points, and had, as it seemed, but one point tyed before, and comming vnluckily in my way, as I was fetching a leape, it fell out that I set my foote on her skirts: the point eyther breaking or stretching, off fell her peticoate from her waste, but as chance was, thogh hir smock were course, it was cleanely; yet the poore wench was so ashamed, the rather for that she could hardly recouer her coate againe from vnruly boies, that looking before like one that had the greene sicknesse, now had she her cheekes all coloured with scarlet. I was sorry for her, but on I went towards the Maiors, and deceiued the people by leaping ouer the church-yard wall at S. Johns, getting so into M. Mayors gates a neerer way; but at last I found it the further way about, being forced on the Tewsday

following to renew my former daunce, because George Sprat, my ouer-seer, hauing lost me in the throng, would not be deposed that I had daunst it, since he saw me not; and I must confesse I did not wel, for the Cittizens had caused all the turne-pikes to be taken vp on Satterday that I might not bee hindred. But now I returne againe to my Jump, the measure of which is to be seene in the Guild-hall at Norwich, where my buskins, that I then wore and daunst in from London thither, stand equally deuided, nailde on the wall. The plenty of good cheere at the Mayors, his bounty and kinde vsage, together with the general welcomes of his worshipful brethren, and many other knights, Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, so much exceeded my expectation, as I adiudg'd my selfe most bound to them all. The Maior gaue me fiue pound in Elizabeth angels; which Maior (faire Madame, to whom I too presumptuously dedicate. my idle paces) is a man worthy of a singuler and impartiall admiration, if our criticke humorous mindes could as prodigally conceiue as he deserues, for his chast life, liberality, and temperance in possessing worldly benefits. He liues vnmarried, and childlesse; neuer purrchased house nor land, the house he dwels in this yeere being but hyred: he liues vpon marchandies, being a Marchant venturer. If our marchants and gentlemen wold take example by this man, Gentlemen would not sell their lands to become banckrout Marchants, nor Marchants liue in the possessions of youth-beguiled gentlemen, who cast themselues out of their parents heritages for a few out-cast commodities. But, wit, whither wilt thou? What hath Morrice tripping Will to do with that? it keeps not time w^t his dance; therefore roome, you morral

precepts, giue my legs leaue to end my Morrice, or, that being ended, my hands leaue to perfect this worthlesse poore tottered volume.

Pardon me, Madame, that I am thus tedious ; I cannot chuse but commend sacred liberality, which makes poore wretches partakers of all comfortable benefits : besides the loue and fauour already repeated, M. Weild the mayor gaue me 40.s. yeerely during my life, making me a free man of the marchant venterers. This is the substance of al my iourney ; therefore let no man beleeue, how euer before by lying ballets and rumors they haue bin abused, y[t] either waies were laid open for me, or that I deliuered gifts to her Maiesty. Its good being merry, my masters, but in a meane, and al my mirths, (meane though they be) haue bin and euer shal be imploi'd to the delight of my royal Mistris ; whose sacred name ought not to be remembred among such ribald rimes as these late thin-breecht lying Balletsingers haue proclaimed it.

It resteth now that in a word I shew what profit I haue made by my Morrice. True it is I put out some money to haue threefold gaine at my returne : some that loue me, regard my paines, and respect their promise, haue sent home the treble worth ; some other at the first sight haue paide me, if I came to seek them ; others I cannot see, nor wil they willingly be found, and these are the greater number. If they had al usd me wel, or al ill, I would haue boldly set downe the true sum of my smal gain or losse ; but I wil haue patience, some few daies longer : at y[e] end of which time, if any be behinde, I wil draw a cattalogue of al their names I ventur'd with ; those y[t] haue shewne themselues honest men, I wil set before them this Caracter, H. for honesty ;

before the other Bench-whistlers shal stand K. for ketlers and keistrels, that wil driue a good companion without need in them to contend for his owne; but I hope I shall haue no such neede. If I haue, your Honourable protection shall thus far defend your poore seruant, that he may, being a plain man, call a spade a spade. Thus fearing your Ladyship is wearier with reading this toy then I was in all my merry trauaile, I craue pardon; and conclude this first Pamphlet that euer Will Kemp offred to the Presse, being thereunto prest on the one side by the pittifull papers, pasted on euery poast, of that which was neither so nor so, and on the other side vrg'd thereto in duety to expresse with thankefulnes the kind entertainment I found.

Your honors poore seruant,
W. K.

Kemps humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers and their coherents; that it would please their rascalities to pitty his paines in the great iourney he pretends, and not fill the country with lyes of his neuer done actes, as they did in his late Morrice to Norwich.

To the tune of Thomas Delonies Epitaph.

MY notable Shakerags, the effect of my sute is discouered in the Title of my supplication; but for your better vnderstandings, for that I know you to be a sort of witles beetle-heads that can understand nothing but what is knockt into your scalpes, These are by these presentes to certifie vnto your block-headships, that I, William Kemp, whom you had neer hand rent in sunder with your vn-

reasonable rimes, am shortly, God willing, to set forward as merily as I may; whether I my selfe know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye, imploy not your little wits in certifying the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint. I knowe the best of ye, by the lyes ye writ of me, got not the price of a good hat to couer your brainles heads: if any of ye had come to me, my bounty should haue exceeded the best of your good masters the Ballad-buiers, I wold haue apparrelled your dry pates in party coloured bonnets, and bestowd a leash of my cast belles to haue crown'd ye with cox-combs. I haue made a priuie search what priuate Jigmonger of your jolly number hath been the Author of these abhominable ballets written of me. I was told it was the great ballet-maker T. D., alias Tho. Deloney, Chronicler of the memorable liues of the 6. yeomen of the west, Jack of Newbery, the Gentle-craft, and such like honest men, omitted by Stow, Hollinshead, Grafton, Hal, froysart, and the rest of those wel deseruing writers; but I was giuen since to vnderstand your late generall Tho. dyed poorely, as ye all must do, and was honestly buried, which is much to bee doubted of some of you. The quest of inquiry finding him by death acquited of the Inditement, I was let to wit y[t] another Lord of litle wit, one whose imployment for the Pageant was vtterly spent, he being knowne to be Eldertons immediate heyre, was vehemently suspected; but after due inquisition was made, he was at that time knowne to liue like a man in a mist, hauing quite giuen ouer the mistery. Still the search continuing, I met a proper vpright youth, onely for a little stooping in the shoulders, all hart to the heele, a penny Poet,

whose first making was the miserable stolne story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat, for I am sure a Mac it was, though I neuer had the maw to see it; and hee tolde me there was a fat filthy ballet-maker, that should haue once been his Journeyman to the trade, who liu'd about the towne, and ten to one but he had thus terribly abused me and my Taberer, for that he was able to do such a thing in print. A shrewd presumption! I found him about the bankside, sitting at a play; I desired to speake with him, had him to a Tauerne, charg'd a pipe with Tobacco, and then laid this terrible accusation to his charge. He swels presently, like one of the foure windes; the violence of his breath blew the Tobacco out of the pipe, and the heate of his wrath drunke dry two bowlefuls of Rhenish wine. At length hauing power to speake, 'Name my accuser,' saith he, 'or I defye thee, Kemp, at the quart staffe.' I told him; and all his anger turned to laughter, swearing it did him good to haue ill words of a hoddy doddy, a habber de hoy, a chicken, a squib, a squall, one that hath not wit enough to make a ballet, that, by Pol and Aedipol, would Pol his father, Derick his dad, doe anie thing, how ill so euer, to please his apish humor. I hardly beleeued this youth that I tooke to be gracious had bin so graceles; but I heard afterwards his mother in law was eye and eare witnes of his fathers abuse by this blessed childe on a publique stage, in a merry Hoast of an Innes part. Yet all this while could not I finde out the true ballet-maker, till by chaunce a friend of mine puld out of his pocket a booke in Latine, called Mundus Furiosus, printed at Cullen, written by one of the vildest and arrantest lying Cullians that euer writ booke, his name Jansonius, who, taking vpon

him to write an abstract of all the turbulent actions that had beene lately attempted or performed in Christendome, like an vnchristian wretch, writes onely by report, partially, and scoffingly of such whose pages shooes hee was vnworthy to wipe, for indeed he is now dead: farewell he! euery dog must haue a day. But see the luck on't: this beggerly lying busie-bodies name brought out the Ballad-maker, and, it was generally confirmd, it was his kinsman: he confesses himselfe guilty, let any man looke on his face; if there be not so redde a colour that all the sope in the towne will not washe white, let me be turned to a Whiting as I passe betweene Douer and Callis. Well, God forgiue thee, honest fellow, I see thou hast grace in thee; I prethee do so no more, leaue writing these beastly ballets, make not good wenches Prophetesses, for litle or no profit, nor for a sixe-penny matter reuiue not a poore fellowes fault thats hanged for his offence; it may be thy owne destiny one day; prethee be good to them. Call vp thy olde Melpomene, whose straubery quill may write the bloody lines of the blew Lady, and the Prince of the burning crowne; a better subiect, I can tell ye, than your Knight of the Red Crosse. So, farewel, and crosse me no more, I prethee, with thy rabble of bald rimes, least at my returne I set a crosse on thy fore-head that all men may know thee for a foole.

WILLIAM KEMP.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA OR OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATE QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

1563–1635

FRAGMENTA REGALIA: OR, OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATE QUEEN ELIZABETH, HER TIMES AND FAVOURITES

[1641. Though Naunton's literary style sometimes suggests that he was of the school of Polonius, most readers will nevertheless be inclined to suffer him gladly as he ambles about the Elizabethan field. As to when or how he wrote his Observations he gives no clue, except such as can be gathered from his inclusion of a sketch of the Earl of Worcester, who died in 1628. Naunton cannot, therefore, have completed his work earlier than 1628 ; but, on the other hand, it may have been spread over a number of years, as occasional jottings. The first edition did not appear until six years after the death of the author, who was, in turn, Public Orator at Cambridge, an ambassador in Denmark, a member of Parliament, Secretary of State, and Master of the Court of Wards.]

FRAGMENTA REGALIA, OR,

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATE

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

HER TIMES, AND FAVOURITES.

TO take her in the Originall, She was daughter to *Henry* the eighth, by *Anne Bullen,* the second of six Wives which He had, and one of the Maids of Honour to the divorced Queen *Katherine* of *Austria* (or as they stile it) *Infanta* of *Spain,* and from thence taken into the Royall Bed.

That She was not of a most Noble and Royall extract by Her Father, will not fall into question: for on that side there was disimbogued into her veines by a confluence of Bloud, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendome; and remarkable it is concerning that violent desertion of the Royall House of the *Britains,* by the invasion of the *Saxons,* and afterwards by the Conquest of the *Normans,* that by the vicissitude of times, and through a discontinuance (almost a thousand yeares) the Royall Scepter should fall back into the Current of the old British bloud, in the person of her renowned Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh, together with whatsoever the *German, Norman, Burgundian, Castalian,* and *French* Atchievements, with the

intermarriages, which eight hundred years had acquired, incorporated, and brought back into the old Royall Line.

By her Mother she was of no Soveraign descent, yet Noble, and very ancient in the Name and Family of *Bullen*, though some erroniously brand it with a Citizens rise or originall, which was yet but of a second Brother, who (as it were) divining the greatnesse and lustre to come to his House, was sent into the City to acquire wealth, *ad ædificandam antiquam domum.* Unto whose atchievements (for he was Lord Mayor of *London*) fell in, as it was averred, both the bloud and inheritance of the eldest Brother, for want of issue Male, by which accumulation, the House within a few descents mounted *in Culmen honoris*, and was suddenly elated into the best Families of *England* and *Ireland*, as *Howard*, *Ormund*, *Sackvile*, and divers others. Having thus toucht, and now leaving her stirp, I come to her Person; and as she came to the Crown by the decease of her Brother and Sister. Under *Edward* She was his, and one of the darlings of Fortune: for besides the consideration of Bloud, there was between these two Princes a concurrency and sympathy in their natures and affections, together with the Celestiall bond (conformity in Religion) which made them one, and friends; for the King ever called her his sweetest and dearest Sister, and was scarce his own man, She being absent, which was not so between him and the Lady *Mary*. Under his Sister She found her condition much altered: For it was resolved, and her destiny had decreed to set her an Apprentice in the School of Affliction, and to draw her through the Ordeall fire of tryall, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and

Soveraignty ; which finished, and Fortune calling to mind, that the time of her servitude was expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith delivered up into her custody a Scepter, as a reward for her patience, which was about the twenty sixth year of her Age ; a time in which (as for externals) she was full blown, so was she for her internals grown ripe, and seasoned with adversity, and in the exercise of her Vertue ; for it seems Fortune meant no more, than to shew her a piece of her variety, and changeablenesse of her Nature, and so to conduct her to her destined Felicity. She was of personage tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high nosed, of limbs and feature neat, and which added to the lustre of those exteriour Graces, of Stately and Majestick comportment ; participating in this more of her Father than Mother, who was of inferiour allay, plausible, or as the French hath it, more *debonaire* and affable, vertues which might well suit with Majesty ; and which descending, as Hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a more sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people ; who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular Prince ; the atrocity of her Fathers nature, being rebated in hers, by the Mothers sweeter inclinations. For to take, and that no more than the Character out of his own mouth ; He never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.

If we search further into her intellectuals and abilities, the whole course of Government deciphers them to the admiration of posterity ; for it was full of magnanimity, tempered with Justice, and Piety ; and to speak truly, noted but with one act or taint ; all her deprivations either of life or liberty, being

legall, and necessitated: She was learned (her sex, and the time considered) beyond common belief; for letters about this time, and somewhat before, began to be of esteem and in fashion, the former ages being overcast with the mists and fogs of the Romane ignorance; and it was the maxime that over-ruled the foregoing times, that ignorance was the mother of devotion. Her warres were a long time more in the auxiliary part, in assistance of forraign Princes and States, than by invasion of any, till common policie advised it for a safer way, to strike first abroad, than at home to expect the warre, in all which she was felicious and victorious. The change and alteration of Religion upon the instant of her accession (the smoak and fire of her Sisters Martyrdomes scarcely quenched) was none of her least remarkable accounts: But the support and establishment thereof, with the meanes of her subsistence, amidst so powerfull enemies abroad, and those many domestique practises, were (me thinks) works of inspiration, and of no humane providence, which on her Sisters departure she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God alone: for she received the news both of the Queens death, and her Proclamation, by the general consent of the House, and the publike suffrage of the people, whereat, falling on her knees (after a good time of respiration) she uttered this Verse of the Psalms, *A Domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris,* which we find to this day on the stamp of her gold, with this on her silver, *Posui Deum adjutorem meum.* Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *participes curarum,* and bear a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable, but they were onely

Favourites, not Minions; such as acted more by her own Princely rules and judgements, than by their own wills and appetites, which she observed to the last: for we find no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have swayed alone, during forty four yeares, which was a well settled and advised Maxime; for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, and it took best with the people, and it starved all emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimony (even against the Prince) where there is onely *Amator Palatii*.

The Principall note of her Reign will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which her self both made, upheld, and weakned, as her own great judgement advised. For I disassent from the common received opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was absolute and above all in her Grace: and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of those times, yet (that I might not rove, and shoot at randome) I know it from assured intelligence, that it was not so. For proof whereof (among many that I could present) I will both relate a short, and therein a known truth, And it was thus. *Bowyer*, a Gentleman of the Black rod, being charged by her expresse command to look precisely to all admissions into the Privy-Chamber, one day stayed a very gay Captain, and a follower of my Lord of *Leicesters*, from entrance; For that he was neither well known, nor a sworn servant to the Queen: at which repulse, the Gentleman bearing high on my Lords favor, told him, he might perchance procure him a discharge: *Leicester* coming into the contestation, said publikely (which was none of his wont) that he was a Knave, and should not continue long in his office; and so turning about to go in to the Queen, *Bowyer* (who

was a bold Gentleman, and well beloved) stept before him, and fell at her Majesties feet, related the story, and humbly craves her Graces pleasure; and whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty Queen? Whereunto she replyed with her wonted oath (Gods death) my Lord, I have wisht you well, but my favour is not so lockt up for you, that others shall not partake thereof; for I have many servants, unto whom I have, and will at my pleasure bequeath my favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forth-coming: I will have here but one Mistress, and no Master, and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely required at your hands. Which so quelled my Lord of *Leicester*, that his fained humility was long after one of his best vertues. Moreover the Earl of *Sussex*, then Lord Chamberlain, was his profest Antagonist to his dying day. And for my Lord of *Hunsdon* and Sir *Thomas Sackvile*, after Lord Treasurer, (who were all Contemporaries) he was wont to say of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *Noli me tangere's*; implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the Queens neer kindred. From whence, and in more instances I conclude, that she was absolute and soveraign Mistress of her Graces; and that all those, to whom she distributed her favours, were never more than Tenants at will, and stood on no better ground than her Princely pleasure, and their own good behaviour. And this also I present as a known observation, that she was (though very capable of Counsell) absolute enough in her own resolutions, which was ever apparent even to her last, in that her aversation to grant *Tirone* the least drop of her mercy, though

earnestly and frequently advised, yea, wrought only by the whole Councell of State, with very many pressing reasons, and as the state of her Kingdome then stood, (I may speak it with assurance) necessitated Arguments. If we look into her inclination, as it is disposed either to magnificence or frugality, we shall find in them many notable considerations, for all her dispensations were so poysed, as though discretion and justice had both agreed to stand at the beam, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturity of her years and judgement meeting in a concurrency, and at such an age as seldom lapseth to excesse. To consider them apart: We have not many presidents of her liberality, or of any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of *Essex* Book of *Parks* only excepted, which was a Princely gift, and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and others. Her rewards consisted chiefly in grants of Leases of Offices, Places of Judicature: but for ready money, and in any great summes, she was very sparing; which we partly conceive was a vertue rather drawn from necessity, than her nature, for she had many layings out, and to her last period. And I am of opinion with S. *Walter Rawliegh*, that those many brave men of our times, and of the *Militia*, tasted little more of her bounty than in her grace and good word, with their due entertainment, for she ever paid the Souldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of *Spain* could perform. So that when we come to the consideration of her frugality, the observation will be little more, than that her bounty and it were so inter-woven together, that the one was suited by an honourable way of spending, the other limited

by a necessitated way of sparing. The Irish action we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end ; and it was of so profuse and vast an expence, that it drew neer a distemperature of State, and of passion in her self : For toward her last she grew hard to please ; her Arms being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation and wonted successe for a good while, it was an unthrifty and inauspitious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgement, and the more, for that it was a president which was taken out of her own pattern : For as the Queen (by way of diversion) had at the coming to the Crown supported the revolted States of *Holland*, so did the King of *Spain* turn the trick on her self towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion. Where it falls into consideration, what the State of the Kingdome and the Crown-Revenues were then able to enbrace and endure ; if we look into the establishment of those times, with the list of the Irish Army, considering the defeatments of *Blackwater*, with all precedent expences, as it stood from my Lord of *Essex* undertaking to the surrender of *Kingsale* under the Generall *Mountjoy*, and somewhat after ; we shall find the Horse and Foot Troops were for three or four yeares together, much about 20000. Which besides the Navall charge, which was a dependant of the same Warre, in that the Queen was then forced to keep in continuall pay a strong Fleet at Sea, to attend the Spanish Coasts and Ports, both to allarum the *Spaniard*, and to intercept his Forces designed for the Irish assistance : so that the charge of that Warre alone did cost the Queen 300000l. *per annum* at least, which was not the moity of her

disbursments, an expence which (without the publique ayd) the State and the Royall receipts could not have much longer endured; which out of her own frequent Letters and complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for casheering part of that List as soon as he could, may be collected, for the Queen was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the times behind us, and to vilifie the present : for the current of her fame carries it to this day, how Royally and victoriously she lived and dyed, without the grievance and grudge of the people ; yet that truth may appear without retraction from the Honour of so great a Princesse, it is manifest she left more debts unpaid, taken upon the credit of her Privy Seales, then her Progenitors did, or could have taken up that way, in a hundred yeares before her ; which was an enforced piece of State, to lay the burthen on that horse, that was best able to bear it, at the dead lift, when neither her receipts could yeild her relief at the pinch, nor the urgency of her affaires endure the delays of a Parliamentary assistance : And for such ayds it is likewise apparent, That she received more, and with the love of the people, than any two of her Predecessors, that took most ; which was a Fortune strained out of the Subject, through the plausibility of her Comportment, and, as I would say without offence, the prodigall distribution of her Graces to all sorts of Subjects : For I believe, no Prince living, that was so tender of Honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of Soveraignty, that was so great a Courtier of her people, yea, of the Commons, and that stoopt and descended lower in presenting her person to the publique view, as she past in her Progresses and

Perambulations; and in the ejaculation of her prayers on her people. And truly, though much may be given in praise of her magnanimity, and therewith comply with her Parliaments, and for all that come off at last with honour and profit; yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdomes of the times, and the choice of Parliament men: for I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinatious dispute, elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the House with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the publique good, rather to comply than contest with her Majesty: Neither doe I find, that the House was at any time weakned and pestered with the admission of too many young heads, as it hath been of later times; which remembers me of Recorder *Martins* Speech,about the tenth of our late Soveraign Lord King *Iames*, when there were accounts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen; which moved him to say, That it was the ancient custome for old men to make Lawes for young ones, but that then he saw the case altered, and that there were children elected unto the great Councell of the Kingdome, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact Laws to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the House alwayes took the common cause into their consideration, and they saw the Queen had just occasion, and need enough to use their assistance: neither doe I remember that the House did ever capitulate or preferre their private to the publique, the Queens necessities, etc. but waited their times, and in the first place gave their supply, and according to the

exigency of her affaires ; yet failed not at last to obtain what they desired, so that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good Fortune to depart in love, and on reciprocall tearmes, which are considerations which have not been so exactly observed in our last assemblies, as they might, and I would to God they had been : for considering the great debt left on the King, and in what incumbrances the House it self had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well used, though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the House, where he had many good friends ; for I dare avouch, had the House been freed of half a dozen of popular and discontented persons, such as (with the fellow that burnt the Temple at *Ephesus*) would be talked of, though but for doing of mischief, I am confident the King had obtained, that which in reason, and at his first accession, he ought to have received freely, and without any condition. But pardon the digression, which is here remembred, not in the way of aggravation, but in true zeal to the publique good, and presented in caveat to future times ; for I am not ignorant how the spirit of the Kingdome now moves to make his Majesty amends on any occasion, and how desirous the Subject is to expiate that offence at any rate, may it please his Majesty graciously to make tryall of his Subjects affection, and at what price they now value his goodnesse and magnanimity. But to our purpose, the Queen was not to learn, that as the strength of her Kingdome consisted in the multitude of her Subjects, so the security of her person rested in the love and fidelity of her people ; which she politiquely affected (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her spirit, and natural magnanimity. Moreover it will be a

true note of her providence, that she would alwayes listen to her profit, for she would not refuse the informations of mean persons, with purposed improvement, and had learned the Phylosophy of *Hoc agere*, to look into her own work; of the which there is a notable example of one *Carwarden*, an under-Officer of the Custom-house, who observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of her Customes, and therewithall humbly desired her Majesty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great Councellours, whom Customer *Smith* had bribed with 200l. a man, so to lose the Queen 2000l. *per annum*, which being made known to the Lords, they gave strict order, that *Carwarden* should not have accesse to the back-stairs; till at last, her Majesty smelling the craft, and missing *Carwarden*, she sent for him back, and encouraged him to stand to his information; which the poor man did so handsomely, that within the space of ten yeares, he brought *Smith* to double his rent, or to leave the customs to new Farmers. So that we may take this also into observation; that there were of the Queens Councell, that were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a view of some particular notions of her times, her nature, and necessities: It is not without the text, to give a short touch on the helps, and advantages of her reign, which were without parallell, for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who as they are dependants of the Crown, so doe they necessarily draw maintenance from thence, and do oftentimes exhaust and draw deep, especially when there is an ample fraternity of the bloud Royall, and

of the Princes of the Bloud, as it was in the time of *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fourth; for when the Crown cannot, the publique ought to give them honourable allowance; for they are the honour and hopes of the Kingdom, and the publique, which enjoyes them, hath a like interest in them with the Father that begot them: and our Common-Law, which is the heritance of the Kingdome, did ever of old provide ayds for the *Primogenitures*, and the eldest daughter. So that the multiplicity of Courts, and the great charge which necessarily follow a King, and Queen, a Prince and the Royall Issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the space of forty years, and which by time was worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times. Insomuch, that the aydes given to the late and right noble Prince *Henry*, and to his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, were at first generally received for impositions of a new Coynage. Yea, the late impositions for Knighthood (though an ancient Law) fell also into the imputation of a tax of novelty, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and forgotten, or connived at by the succeeding Princes: So that the strangenesse of the observation, and difference of those later reignes is, that the Queen took up beyond the power of the Law, which fell not into the murmure of the people; and her successors nothing, but by warrant of the Law, which neverthelesse was conceived (through disuse) to be injurious to the liberty of the Kingdome.

Now before I come to any further mention of her Favourites, (for hitherto I have delivered but some obvious passages, thereby to prepare and smooth a way for the rest that follows) it is requisite that

I touch on the reliques of the other raign, I mean the body of her Sisters Councel of State, which she retained intire; neither removing, nor discontenting any, although she knew them averse to her Religion (and in her Sisters time perverse towards her person) and private to her troubles and imprisonment; A prudence which was incompatible with her Sisters nature, for she both dissipated and persecuted the major part of her Brothers Councel. But this will be of certainty, that how compliable soever and obsequious she found them, yet for a good space she made little use of their Counsels, more than in the ordinary course of the Board, for she held a dormant Table in her own Princely breast: yet she kept them together, and their places, without any sudden change: so that we may say of them, That they were of the Court, not of the Counsell. For whilest she amazed them with a kind of promissive disputation concerning the points controverted by both Churches, she did set down her own reservations without their privity, and made all her progressions gradations. But so, that the tenents of her secrecy, with intent of her establishment, were pitcht before it was known where the Court would sit down. Neither doe I find, that any of her Sisters Councel of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or opposed her doings (*Englefield* Master of the Horse excepted, who withdrew himself from the Board, and shortly after from out her Dominions) so plyable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their Princes. And of this there will fall in here a relation both of recreation, and of known truth.

Paulet Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, having served then four Princes in as

various and changeable season, that I may well say, time nor any age hath yielded the like president. This man being noted to grow high in her favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he stood up for thirty years together, amidst the changes and raignes of so many Chancellors and great Personages; Why, quoth the Marquesse, *Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu,* I was made of the plyable Willow, not of the stubborn Oak. And truly the old man hath taught them all, especially *William* Earl of *Pembroke*; for they two were ever of the Kings Religion, and over-zealous professors. Of these it is said, that being both younger Brothers (yet of Noble Houses) they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the Court; where upon the bare stock of their Wits they began to traffick for themselves and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any Subjects from the *Norman* Conquest to their own times: whereunto it hath been prettily replyed, that they lived in a time of dissolution.

To conclude then, of any of the former raign, it is said, that these two lived and dyed chiefly in her favour. The latter, upon his sonnes mariage with the Lady *Katherine Grey* was like utterly to have lost himself: But at the instant of the consummation, apprehending the insafety and danger of an inter-mariage with the Bloud-Royall, he fell at the Queens feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption with teares, and projected the cause and the divorce together; and so quick he was at his work, (for it stood him upon) that upon repudiation of the Lady, he clapt up a marriage for his Son the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney* daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*;

the blow falling on *Edward* late Earl of *Hereford*, who to his cost took up the divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchamp* was born, and *William* Earl of *Hereford* is descended. I come now to present those of her own Election, which she either admitted to her secrets of State, or took into her grace and favour: of whom, in their order, I crave leave to give unto posterity a cautious description, with a short Character or draught of the persons themselves. For without offence to others, I would be true to my self, their memories and merits distinguishing them of the *Militia* from the *Togati*; and of these she had as many, and those as able Ministers, as any of her Progenitors.

Leicester.

IT will be out of doubt, that my Lord of *Leicester* was one of the first whom she made Master of the Horse: he was the youngest Sonne then living of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ*; and his Father was that *Dudley*, which our Histories couple with *Empson*; and both so much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Common-wealth, during the reign of *Henry* the seventh, who being of a Noble extract, was executed the first year of *Henry* the eight: but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful Estate, and such a Son, who, as the vulgar speaks it, could live without the teat; for out of the ashes of his Fathers infamie, he rose to be a Duke, and as high, as subjection could permit, or Soveraignty endure; and though he could not find out any appellation to assume the Crown in his own Person, yet he projected, and very neerly effected it for his Son *Gilbert*, by intermarriage with the Lady *Iane Grey*, and so by that

way to bring it about into his loynes. Observations, which though they lie behind us, and seem impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant : for they must lead, and shew us how the after-passages were brought about with the dependances, and on the hinges of a collaterall workmanship : and truly, it may amaze a well setled judgement, to look back into those times, and to consider how this Duke could attain to such a pitch of greatnesse; his Father dying in ignominie, and at the Gallows, his Estate confiscate, and that for peeling and polling, by the clamour, and crucifige of the people; but when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the King; so that upon the matter he was a Martyr of the Prerogative, and the King in honour could doe no lesse, than give back to his Son the priviledges of his bloud, with the acquirings of his Fathers profession, for he was a Lawyer, and of the Kings Counsels at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus consiliis*, where besides the licking of his own fingers, he got the King a masse of riches, and that not with the hazard, but the losse of his fame and life for the Kings Fathers sake. Certain it is, that his sonne was left rich in purse and brain, which are good foundations, and full to ambition; and it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the King, as a person of mark and compassion in his eye : but I find not that he did put up for advancement, during *Henry* the eights time, although a vast aspirer, and provident storer. It seems he thought the Kings reign was given to the falling sicknesse : but espying his time fitting, and the Soveraignty in the hands of

a pupil Prince, he thought he might as well then put up for it as the best, for having then possession of bloud, and a purse, with a head-piece of a vast extent, he soon got honour, and no sooner there, but he began to side it with the best, even with the Protector, and in conclusion got his, and his Brothers heads; still aspiring, till he expired, in the losse of his own: so that posterity may by reading the Father and Grandfather, make judgement of the Son; for we shall find, that this *Robert* (whose originall we have now traced, the better to present him) was inheritor of the genius and craft of his Father, and *Ambrose* of the estate, of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We take him now as he was admitted into the Court, and the Queens favour, where he was not to seek to play his part well, and dexteriously. But his play was chiefly at the fore-game; not that he was a learner at the latter, but he loved not the after-wit, for they report (and I think not untruly) that he was seldome behind hand with his Gamesters, and that they alwayes went away with the losse.

He was a very goodly person, and singular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a sweet aspect, but high-foreheaded, which as I should take it, was of no discommendation: but towards his latter end (which with old men, was but a middle age) he grew high-coloured and red-faced. So that the Queen in this, had much of her Father, for (excepting some of her kindred, and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies) she alwayes took personage in the way of her election; for the people hath it to this day in proverb, King *Harry* loved a man. Being thus in her grace, she called to mind the sufferings of his Ancestors, both

in her Fathers and sisters reigns, and restored his and his brothers bloud, creating *Ambrose*, the elder, Earl of *Warwick*, and himself Earl of *Leicester*, &c. And he was *ex primitiis*, or of her first choice; for he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favour: and therewith much what he listed, till time and emulation (the companions of great ones) had resolved on his period, and to cover him at his setting in a cloud at *Cornbury*, not by so violent a death, and by the fatall sentence of Judicature, as that of his Fathers and Grandfathers was; but as it is suggested, by that poyson which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artist. I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of the times, which are commonly forced, and falsified suitable to the moods and humours of men in passion and discontent: But that which leads me to think him no good man, is amongst others of known truth, that of my Lord of *Essex* death in *Ireland*, and the marriage of his Lady yet living, which I forbear to presse, in regard that he is long since dead, and others living whom it may concern.

To take him in the observations of his Letters and Writings (which should best set him off) for such as fell into my hands, I never yet saw a style or phrase more seeming religious, and fuller of the streames of devotion: and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well-being; and I may fear he was too well seen in the Aphorismes and principles of *Nicholas* the *Florentine*, and in the reaches of *Cæsar Borgia*. Hitherto I have touched him in his Courtship; I conclude him in his Lance. He was sent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*; where we read not of his wonders; for

they say that he had more of *Mercury* than of *Mars*; and that his device might have been, without prejudice to the Great *Cæsar*, *Veni, vidi, redii.*

Sussex.

HIs Corrivall before mentioned, was *Thomas Radcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, who in his constellation was his direct opposite; for he was indeed one of the Queens Martialists, and did very good service in *Ireland* at her first accession, till she recalled him to the Court, where she made him Lord *Chamberlain*; but he played not his game with that cunning and dexterity as *Leicester* did, who was much the more facete Courtier, though *Sussex* was thought much the honester man, and far the better souldier: but he lay too open on his guard.

He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave Noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants: He was also of a very Noble and ancient lineage, honoured through many descents by the title of Viscounts *Fitzwalters*. Moreover there was such an Antipathy in his nature to that of *Leicesters*, that being together in Court, and both in high imployments, they grew to a direct frowardnesse, and were in continual opposition; the one setting the watch, the other the sentinell, each on the others actions and motions; for my Lord of *Sussex* was of a great spirit, which backt with the Queens speciall favour, and supported by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brook the others Empire: Insomuch as the Queen upon sundry occasions had somewhat to doe to appease and attain them, untill death parted the competition, and left the place to *Leicester*, who was not long alone without his rivall in grace and

command. And to conclude this Favourite: it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his last sicknesse, he gave this caveat to his Friends: I am now passing into another world, and I must now leave you to your Fortunes, and to the Queens grace and goodnesse: but beware of the Gipsie, meaning *Leicester*, for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast so well as I do.

Lord *Burleigh*.

I Now come to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecil*; For on the death of the old Marquess of *Winchester*, he came up in his room. A person of a most subtile and active spirit, who though he stood not altogether by the way of constellation and making up of a part and faction, for he was wholly intentive to the service of his Mistris, and his dexterity, experience, and merit challenged a room in the Queens favour, which eclipsed the others over-seeming greatnesse, and made it appear, that there were others that steered and stood at the Helm besides himself, and more Starres in the Firmament of her grace than *Ursa major*, or the Bear with the ragged staffe.

He was born, as they say, in *Lincolnshire*; but as some upon knowledge averre, of a younger Brother of the *Cecils* of *Hartfordshire*, a family (of mine own knowledge) though now private, yet of no mean antiquity. Who being exposed, and sent to the City, as poor Gentlemen use to do their younger Sons, he came to be a rich man on *London bridge*; and purchasing in *Lincolnshire*, where this man was born, he was sent to *Cambridge*, then to the Innes of Court, and so he came to serve the Duke of *Sommerset* in the time of his Protectorship as

which had like to have cost some of them dear; so predominant were their thoughts and hopes of honour growing in them; as we may truly observe in the dispositions of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Essex*, *Mountjoy*, and divers others, whose absence, and the manner of their eruptions was very distastefull to her: whereof I can here adde a true and no impertinent story, and that of the last *Mountjoy*; who having twice or thrice stoln away into *Britain* (where under Sir *Iohn Norris* he had then a Company) without the Queens leave and privity; she sent a Messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the Generall to see him sent home: when he came into the Queens presence, she fell into a kind of reviling, demanding how he durst goe over without her leave; Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; You will never leave it untill you are knockt on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow *Sidney* was; You shall go when I send you, in the mean time see that you lodge in the Court (which was then at *White-hall*) where you may follow your Book, read and discourse of the Wars.

But to our purpose: It fell out happily to those, and (as I may say) to those times, That the Queen, during the calm of her Reign, was not idle, nor rockt asleep with security; for she had been very provident in the Reparation and Augmentation of her Shipping and Ammunition: and I know not whether by a fore-sight of policy, or an instinct, it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certain, That she sent Levies, and no small Troops to the assistance of the revolted States of *Holland*, before she had received any affront from the King of *Spain*, that might deserve, or tend

to a breach in Hostility; which the Papists to this day maintain, was the provocation and cause of the after-wars: but omitting what might be said to this point, those Netherland wars were the Queens Seminaries, and the Nurseries of very many brave Souldiers; and so were likewise the Civill wars of *France* (whither she sent five severall Armies) the Fence-schools that inured the youth and Gallantry of the Kingdom, and it was a *Militia* wherein they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queens inveterate enemies.

And this have I taken into observation of her *Dies Halcionii*, those yeares of hers which were more serene and quiet than those that followed; which though they were not lesse propitious, as being touched more with the point of honour and victory, yet were they troubled, and ever clouded over both with domestique and forraign machinations; and it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about how to defend, rather by offending, and by the way of diverting to prevent all Invasions, then to expect them, which was a piece of policy of the times: and with this I have noted the causes or *principia* of the Warres following, and likewise pointed to the seed-plots from whence she took up those brave men and plants of honour, which acted on the theatre of *Mars*, and on whôm she dispersed the rayes of her grace, which were persons in their kindes of rare vertues, and such as might (out of height of merit) pretend interest to her favour; of which rank, the number will equall, if not exceed that of the Gown-men. In recount of whom I proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Sir *Philip Sidney*.

HE was sonne to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales* ; a person of great parts, and in no mean grace with the Queen ; his mother was sister to my Lord of *Leicester*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father stood up in the place of honour and imployment, so that his descent was apparently noble on both sides : For his education, it was such as travell, and the University could afford, or his Tutours infuse ; for after an incredible proficiency in all the species of Learning; he left the Academicall life, for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncles invitation, famed afore-hand by a noble report of his accomplishments, which together with the state of his person, framed by a naturall propension to Armes, he soon attracted the good opinion of all men, and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that she thought the Court deficient without him : And whereas (through the fame of his deserts) he was in the election for the Kingdom of *Pole*, she refused to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewell of her times : He married the daughter and sole heir of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Secretary of State, a Lady destinated to the Bed of honour, who (after his deplorable death at *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, were he was Governor of *Flushing* at the time of his Uncles being there) was married to my Lord of *Essex*, and since his death to my Lord of Saint *Albans*, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and vertue.

They have a very quaint and facetious figment

of him, That *Mars* and *Mercury* fell at variance whose servant he should be. And there is an *Epigrammist* that saith, that Art and Nature had spent their excellencies in his fashioning; and fearing they should not end what they begun, they bestowed him on Fortune, and nature stood musing and amazed to behold her own work; but these are the fictions of Poets.

Certain it is, He was a noble and matchless Gentleman, and it may be justly said without hyperboles of fiction, as it was of *Cato Uticensis*, That he seemed to be born to that onely which he went about. *Versatilis ingenii*, as *Plutarch* hath it. But to speak more of him, were to make him lesse.

Sir *Fr. Walsingham.*

SIr *Francis Walsingham* (as we have said) had the honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney's* Father in law: He was a Gentleman (at first) of a good house, but of better education, and from the University travelled for the rest of his Learning. He was doubtlesse the best Linguist of the times, but knew best how to use his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest affaires of State. He was sent Ambassadour into *France*, and stayed there a Lieger long, in the heat of the civill warres, and at the same time that Mounsier was here a Suitor to the Queen; and, if I be not mistaken, he played the very same part there, as since *Gundamore* did here: At his return, he was taken principal Secretary, and was one of the great Engines of State, and of the times, high in the Queens favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his Mistresse.

They note him to have had certain curiosities,

and secret wayes of intelligence above the rest: But I must confesse I am to seek wherefore he suffered *Parry* to play so long on the hook, before he hoysed him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *Arcana Imperii.* For to know is sometimes a burthen; and I remember that it was *Ovid's crimen aut error,* That he saw too much. But I hope these are Collaterals of no danger. But that *Parry* intending to kill the Queen, made the way of his accesse by betraying of others, and impeaching of the Priests of his own correspondency, and thereby had accesse and conference with the Queen, and also oftentimes familiar and private conference with *Walsingham,* will not be the Quære of the mystery; for the Secretary might have had end of discovery on a further maturity of the Treason: but that after the Queen knew *Parries* intent, why she should then admit him to private discourse, and *Walsingham* to suffer it, considering the condition of all assailings, and permit him to go where and whither he listed, and onely on the security of a dark sentinell set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard beyond my apprehension.

I must again professe, That having read many of his Letters (for they are commonly sent to my Lord of *Leicester,* and *Burleigh,* out of *France*) containing many fine passages and secrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, whereof they are full, they would have told pretty tales of the times. But I must now close up, and rank him amongst the *Togati,* yet chief of those that laid the foundation of the *Dutch* and *French* wars, which was another piece of his finenesse, and of the times; with one observation more, That he was one of the

great allayes of the Austerian embracements: For both himself, and *Stafford* that preceded him, might well have been compared to the fiend in the Gospel, that sowed his tares in the night; so did they their seeds of division in the dark. And it is a likely report that they father on him, at his return, That he said unto the Queen, with some sensibility of the Spanish designs on *France*: Madam, I beseech you be content not to fear; The *Spaniard* hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for this twenty yeares, that your Majesty shall have no cause to doubt him; provided that if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some English fewel, which will revive the flame.

Willoughby.

MY Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queens first Sword-men: He was of the ancient extract of the *Bartues*, but more ennobled by his mother, who was Dutchesse of *Suffolk*.

He was a great Master of the Art Military, and was sent Generall into *France*, and commanded the second of five Armies that the Queen sent thither in aid of the *French*. I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the Court, but applyed himself to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentifull portion of her grace: And it was his saying, (and it did him no good) That he was none of the *Reptilia*, intimating, that he could not creep on the ground, and that the Court was not in his Element; for indeed, as he was a great Souldier, so was he of a suitable magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousnesse and assiduity of the Court; and

as he then was somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi*, and to make a safe retreat.

Sir *Nic. Bacon.*

I Come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, An arch-piece of Wit and Wisdom. He was a Gentleman, and a man of Law, and of great knowledge therein; whereby, together with his other parts of learning and dexterity, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seal: and being of kin to the Treasurer *Burleigh*, had also the help of his hand to bring him into the Queens favour; for he was abundantly factious, which took much with the Queen, when it was suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of his times. He had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose; That he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend. He would say, That though he knew, *Unusquisque suæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and good principle; yet the most in number were those that marred themselves. But I will never forgive that man, that loseth himself, to be rid of his jest.

He was father to that Refined Wit, which since hath acted a disastrous part on the publique stage, and of late sate in his Fathers room as Lord Chancellor. Those that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little Modell of him, give him a lively Character; and they decipher him for another Solon, and the *Synon* of those times, such a one as *Oedipus* was in dissolving of Riddles. Doubtlesse he was as able an Instrument; and it was his commendation, that his head was the Mawl (for it was a great one) and therein he kept the

Wedge that entred the knotty pieces that came to the Table. And now I must again fall back to smooth and plain a way to the rest that is behind, but not from the purpose.

There were about these times two Rivals in the Queens favour; Old Sir *Francis Knowls* Controller of the House, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom she called up at a Parliament to sit with the Peers in the higher House, as Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, who had married the daughter and heir of the old L. *Williams* of *Tame*, a Noble person, and to whom in the Queens adversity she had been committed to safe custody, and from him had received more than ordinary observances. Now such was the goodnesse of the Queens nature, that she neither forgot good turns received from the Lord *Williams*, neither was she unmindfull of this Lord *Norris*, whose Father, in her Fathers time, and in the businesse of her Mother, dyed in a Noble cause, and in the justification of her innocencie.

Lord *Norris*.

MY Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an ample Issue, which the Queen highly respected: for he had six Sonnes, and all Martiall brave men: The first was *William* his eldest, and Father to the late Earl of *Berkshire*; Sir *Iohn*, vulgarly called Generall *Norris*; Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*; Men of an haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of Military affaires: And to speak in the Character of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, as future times must out of duty owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

Knowls.

SIr *Francis Knowls* was somewhat of the Queens affinity, and had likewise no incompetent Issue ; for he had also *William* his eldest, and since Earl of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis* ; if I be not a little mistaken in their names and martialling ; and there was also the Lady *Lettice*, a Sister of these, who was first Countesse of *Essex*, and after of *Leicester*. And these were also brave men in their times and places ; but they were of the Court and Carpet, not led by the genius of the Camp.

Between these two Families, there was (as it falleth out amongst Great ones, and Competitors for favour) no great correspondencie : and there were some seeds, either of emulation or distrust cast between them, which had not been disjoyned in the residence of their persons, (as it was the fortune of their imployments, the one side attending the Court, the other the Pavilion) surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostility, or at least they would have wrestled one in the other, like Trees incircled with ivy : For there was a time when (both these Fraternities being met at Court) there passed a challenge between them at certain exercises, the Queen and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarrell amongst them all. And I am perswaded (though I ought not to judge) that there were some reliques of this feud, that were long after the causes of the one Families (almost utter) extirpation, and of the others improsperity. For it was a known truth, that so long as my Lord of *Leicester* lived, who was the main pillar of the one

side, as having married the Sister, none of the other side took any deep rooting in the Court, though otherwise they made their wayes to Honour by their swords: And that which is of more note, (considering my Lord of *Leicesters* use of Men of Arms, being shortly after sent Governor to the Revolted States, and no Souldier himself) is, that he made no more accompt of Sir *Iohn Norris*, a Souldier then deservedly famoused, and trained from a Page, under the discipline of the great Captain of Christendome, the Admirall *Castilion*, and of Command in the French and Dutch wars almost twenty yeers. It is of further observation, that my Lord of *Essex* (after *Leicesters* decease) though initiated to Armes, and honoured by the General in the *Portugal* expedition, whether out of instigation (as it hath been thought) or out of ambition, and jealousie to be eclipsed and overshadowed by the fame and splendour of this great Commander, loved him not in sincerity. Moreover, certain it is, he not onely crusht, and upon all occasions quell'd the growth of this brave man, and his famous Brethren; but therewith drew on his own fatall end, by undertaking the Irish action, in a time when he left the Court empty of friends, and full fraught with his profest enemies. But I forbear to extend my self in any further relation upon this subject; as having left some notes of truth in these two Noble Families, which I would present; and therewith toucht somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the Narration would have admitted an intermission.

Sir *Iohn Perrot.*

SIr *Iohn Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword: And as he was of a very ancient descent, as an heir to many abstracts of Gentry, especially from *Guy de Bryan* of *Lawhern*, so was he of a vast Estate, and came not to the Court for want. And to these adjuncts, he had the endowments of courage, and height of spirit, had it lighted on the allay of temper and discretion; the defect whereof, with a native freedome and boldnesse of speech, drew him on to a clouded setting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage of his enemies, amongst whom Sir *Christopher Hatton* was profest. He was yet a wise man, and a brave Courtier; but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being in his constellation destinated for Armes. There is a quære of some denotations, how he came to receive his foyle, and that in the Catastrophe; for he was strengthened with honourable Alliances, and the privy friendships of the Court; My Lord of *Leicester*, and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries, and Familiars; but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) falsity in friendship; and we may rest satisfied, that there is no disputing against fate.

They quote him for a person that loved to stand too much alone, and on his own legges; of too often recesses, and discontinuance from the Queens presence; A fault which is incompatible with the wayes of Court and favour.

He was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, (as it was thought) for a kind of haughtinesse of spirit, and repugnancy in Councels; or as others have thought, the fittest person then to bridle the insolency of the

Irish; And probably it is, that both these (considering the sway that he would have at the Board, and head in the Queens favour) concurred, and did a little conspire his remove, and his ruine: But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queen very great and many services, if the surplussage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit; as after-times found that to be no paradox: For to save the Queens purse, (which both her self, and my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, ever took for good services) he imposed on the *Irish* the charge of bearing their own armes; which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons; which proved in the end a most fatall work, both in the profusion of bloud and treasure.

But at his return, and on some account sent home before touching the state of the Kingdome, the assiduous testimonies of her grace were towards him; till by his retreat to his Castle at *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of desire to be in command at home, (as he had been abroad) together with the hatred and practice of *Hatton*, then in high favour, whom not long before he had too bitterly taunted for his dancing, He was accused for high Treason, and for high words and a forged Letter, condemned; though the Queen on the newes of his condemnation, swore by her wonted oath, That they were all knaves. And they deliver with assurance, That on his return to the Tower, after his Triall, he said in oathes and in fury to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, What, will the Queen suffer her Brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking adversaries? Which being made known to the Queen, and the Warrant for his execution tendered, and somewhat enforced; she

refused to sign it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and a faithful man. And surely, though not altogether to set up our rest and faith upon tradition, and upon old report, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Father was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the eight, and in the Court married a Lady of great honour, of the Kings familiarity, which are presumptions of some implication: But if we goe a little further, and compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the Kings, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a subrepticious child of the bloud Royall.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his decease, Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Son (then of no mean esteem with the Queen) having before married my Lord of *Essex* Sister, since Countess of *Northumberland*, had restitution of all his lands; though after his decease also (which immediately followed) the Crown resumed his Estate, and took advantage of the former Attainder. And to say the truth, the Priests forged Letter was at his arraignment thought but a fiction of envy, and was soon after exploded by the Priests own confession. But that which most exasperated the Queen, and gave advantage to his enemies, was (as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* takes into his observation) words of disdain. For the Queen by sharp and reprehensive Letters, had netled him; and shortly after sending others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from *Spain*; which he no sooner perused, but he said publiquely in the great Chamber at *Dublin*: Lo, now she is ready to pisse her self for fear of the *Spaniards*; I am again one of her White-boyes.

Words which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his Soveraign : and such as may serve for instruction to persons in place of honour and command, to beware of the violences of nature, but especially of the exorbitances of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation, The one of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and clear from the guilt of treason and disloyality ; The other, of the greatnesse of his heart : For at his arraignment, he was so little dejected by what might be alledged and proved against him, that he rather grew troubled with choler, and in a kind of exasperation despised his Jury, though of the Order of Knighthood, and of the speciall Gentry, claiming the priviledge of triall by the Peeres and Baronage of the Realm : so prevalent was that of his native Genius, and the haughtinesse of his spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till (without any diminution of courage) it brake in pieces the cords of his magnanimity, for he dyed suddenly in the Tower, and when it was thought the Queen did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the Nobility.

Hatton.

SIr *Christopher Hatton* came into the Court as his opposite, Sir *Iohn Perrot,* was wont to say by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Innes of Court in a Mask ; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into favour : he was first made Vice-Chamberlain, and shortly afterward advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor : a Gentleman, that

besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the adjectaments of a strong and subtill capacity, one that could soon learn the discipline and garb both of the times and Court; the truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy; and he was a meer vegetable of the Court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon.

Lord *Effingham.*

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier betimes, yet I find not, that the sun-shine of her favour broke out upon him, until she took him into the Ship, and made him High-Admirall of *England.* For his extract, it may suffice, that he was the son of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolk*: And for his person, as goodly a Gentleman as the times had any; if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his person, than Fortune to make him rich: For the times considered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he dyed not wealthy, yet the honester man; though it seemes the Queens purpose was to tender the occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour: which at his return from *Cadize*-Accounts she conferred on him, creating him Earle of *Nottingham*; to the great discontent of his Colleague, my Lord of *Essex*, who then grew excessive in the appetite of her favour; and in truth, was so exorbitant in the limitation of the Soveraign aspect, that it much alienated the Queenes grace from him, and drew others together with the Admirall to a combination, and to conspire his ruine. And though I have heard it from that party, (I mean of the Admirals

faction) that it lay not in his proper power to hurt my Lord of *Essex*, yet he had more Followers, and such as were well skilled in setting of the gyn. But I leave this to those of another age.

It is out of doubt, that the Admirall was a good, honest, and a brave man, and a faithfull servant to his Mistresse, and such a one as the Queen, out of her own Princely judgement, knew to be a fit Instrument for that service, for she was no ill Proficient in the reading of Men, as well as Books; and his sundry expeditions, as that aforementioned, and 88. doth both expresse his worth, and manifest the Queens trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelity and conduct.

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queenes alliance and consanguinity by her Mother which swayed her affection, and bent it toward this great House; and it was part of her naturall propension, to grace and support ancient Nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her interest; for on such trespasses she was quick and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever; as we may observe in the case of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hereford*, whom she much favoured and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden fruit; The fault of the last, being in the severest interpretation but a trespasse of incroachment; But in the first, it was taken for a Ryot against the Crown, and her own Soveraign power: and as I have ever thought, the cause of her aversion against the rest of the House, and the Dukes great Father-in-law *Fitz Allen* Earle of *Arundel*, a person of the first rank in her affections, before these; and some other jealousies made a separation between them; this Noble Lord, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, since Earl of *Suffolk*, standing alone in her grace, and rest in umbrage.

Sir *Iohn Packington.*

SIr *Iohn Packington* was a Gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no way despisable; for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier; and for the time he stayed there, (which was not lasting) very high in her grace; but he came in, and went out, and through disassiduity, drew the Curtain between himself and the light of her grace; and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery: And they say of him, that had he brought lesse to the Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought; for he had a time on it, but an ill husband of opportunity.

Lord *Hunsdon.*

MY Lord of *Hunsdon* was of the Queens neerest kindred; and on the decease of *Sussex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain; he was a fast man to his Prince, and firm to his friends and servants; and though he might speak big, and therein would be born out, yet was he not the more dreadfull, but lesse harmfull, and far from the practice of my Lord of *Leicesters* instructions, for he was down-right; and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say merrily of him, that his Latine and his dissimulation were both alike; and that his custome of swearing, and obscenity in speaking, made him seem a worse Christian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he should be: As he lived in a ruffling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such

as our Fathers were wont to call men of their hands; of which sort, he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him; yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood amongst the *Togati*, of an honest stout heart, and such a one (as upon occasion) would have fought for his Prince, and his Country, for he had the charge of the Queens Person, both in the Court and the Camp at *Tilbury*.

Rawleigh.

SIr *Walter Rawleigh* was one, that (it seems) Fortune had pickt out of purpose, of whom to make an example, or to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to shew what she could doe; for she tost him up of nothing, and too and fro to greatnesse, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, (a bare Gentleman). Not that he was lesse, for he was well descended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings: and for my Lord of *Oxfords* jest of him, (the Jack, and an upstart) we all know, it savours more of emulation, and his humour, than of truth; and it is a certain note of the times, that the Queen in her choice, never took into her favour a meer new man, or a Mechanick, as *Comines* observes of *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, who did serve himself with persons of unknown Parents; such as was *Oliver* the Barber, whom he created Earle of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex secretis consiliis*, and alone in his favour and familiarity.

His approaches to the University and Innes of Court, were the grounds of his improvement; but they were rather excursions, than sieges or settings

down, for he stayed not long in a place ; and being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in Patrimony, he foresaw his own destiny ; that he was first to roul (through want and disability to subsist otherwayes) before he could come to a repose, and as the stone doth by long lying gather moss : He first exposed himself to the Land service of *Ireland*, a *Militia* which then did not yeeld him food and rayment, (for it was ever very poor) nor had he patience to stay there, though shortly after he came thither again under the command of my Lord *Grey* ; but with his own Colours flying in the field ; having in his interim cast a new chance, both in the Low-Countries, and in a Voyage to Sea ; and if ever man drew vertue out of necessity, it was he : therewith was he the great example of industry ; and though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himself, *Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos*, He might also have said, and truly with the Phylosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto* ; For it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his back ; and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendations, that he took pains for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the publike note of the World : And that it may appear how he came up (*Per ardua*) *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, not pulled up by chance, or by any gentle admittance of Fortune ; I will briefly describe his native parts, and those of his own acquiring, which were the hopes of his rising.

He had in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person, a strong naturall wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his

parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some generall Learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation, and perfection; for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the least observers both of men and the times; and I am confident, that among the second causes of his growth, that variance between him, and my Lord *Grey*, in his descent into *Ireland*, was a principall; for it drew them both over the Councell Table, there to plead their cause, where (what advantage he had in the cause, I know not) but he had much better in the telling of his tale; and so much, that the Queen and the Lords took no slight mark of the man, and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have accesse to the Queen, and the Lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether *Leicester* had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I doe not determine: But true it is, He had gotten the Queens eare at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and the truth is, she took him for a kind of Oracle, which netled them all; yea, those that he relyed on, began to take his suddain favour as an Allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe, &c.* So that finding his favour declining, and falling into a recesse, he undertook a new peregrination, to leave that *Terra infirma* of the Court, for that of the Warres, and by declining himself, and by absence, to expell his, and the passion of his enemies, which in Court was a strange device of recovery, but that he knew

there was some ill office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any other wayes, than by going aside; thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulnesse, and not so much as to think of him; howsoever, he had it alwayes in mind, never to forget himself; and his device took so well, that at his return he came in (as Rammes doe, by going backward) with the greater strength, and so continued to her last, great in her grace, and Captain of the Guard, where I must leave him; but with this observation, That though he gained much at the Court, yet he took it not out of the Exchequer, or meerly out of the Queens purse, but by his wit, and the help of the Prerogative; for the Queen was never profuse in the delivering out of her treasure, but payed many, and most of her servants part in money, and the rest with grace, which as the case stood, was taken for good payment, leaving the Arrear of recompence due to their merit, to her great Successor,who payed them all with advantage.

Grevil.

SIr *Foulk Grevil*, since Lord *Brook*, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for any short term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rub, of any of her Favourites. He came to the Court in his youth and prime, for that is the time, or never: He was a brave Gentleman, and honourably descended, from *William* Lord *Brook*, and Admiral to *Henry* the seventh. Neither illiterate; for he was, as he would often professe, a friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his Poem, and of those times, which

doe interest him in the Muses ; and which shewes, the Queens election had ever a noble conduct, and its motions more of vertue and judgement, than of fancy.

I find, that he neither sought for, or obtained any great place or preferment in Court during all the time of his attendance, neither did he need it ; for he came thither, backt with a plentifull Fortune, which as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and dyed a constant Courtier of the Ladies.

Essex.

MY Lord of *Essex* (as Sir *Henry Wotton* a Gentleman of great parts, and partly of his time and retinue, observes) had his introduction by my Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother, a tie of affinity, which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his Fortune being then (and through his Fathers infelicity) grown low. But that the son of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Viscount *Hartford*, and Earle of *Essex*, who was of the ancient Nobility, and formerly in the Queens good grace, could not have room in her favour, without the assistance of *Leicester*, was beyond the rule of her nature, which as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility : Sure it is, That he no sooner appeared in Court, but he took with the Queen and Courtiers ; and I believe, they all could not choose but look through the Sacrifice of the Father, on his living Sonne, whose image, by the remembrance of former passages, was afresh (like the bleeding of men murdered) represented to the Court, and offered

up as a subject of compassion to all the Kingdome. There was in this young Lord, together with a most goodly Person, a kind of urbanity or innate courtesie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new adopted son of her favour.

And as I goe along, it were not amisse to take into observation two notable quotations. The first was, a violent indulgencie of the Queen (which is incident to old age, where it encounters with a pleasing and suitable object) towards this Lord ; all which argued a non-perpetuity : The second was, a fault in the Object of her grace, my Lord himself, who drew in too fast, like a childe sucking on an over-uberous Nurse ; and had there been a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of those, without doubt the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an Instrument ill tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater errour of the two (though unwillingly) I am constrained to impose on my Lord of *Essex*, or rather on his youth ; and none of the least of his blame on those that stood Sentinels about him, who might have advised him better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had suckt in with the most, and of their Lords receipt, and so like *Cæsars* would have all or none ; A rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent Parents, who though they may expresse more affection to one in the abundance of bequests, yet cannot forget some Legacies, just distributives, and dividents to others of their begetting : And how hatefull partiality proves, every dayes experience tells us, out of which common consideration might have framed to their hands a maxime of more discretion for the conduct

and management of their now graced Lord and Master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to doe right to truth : My Lord of *Essex* (even of those that truly loved and honoured him) was noted for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and favour ; And of this (without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred urne of the dead) I shall present a truth, and a passage yet in memory.

My Lord *Mountjoy*, (who was another child of her favour) being newly come to Court, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt*, (for my Lord *William* his elder brother was then living) had the good fortune one day to run very well a Tilt ; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favour, a Queen at *Chesse* of gold richly enameled, which his servants had the next day fastned on his Arme with a Crymson ribband ; which my Lord of *Essex*, as he passed through the Privy Chamber espying, with his cloak cast under his Arme, the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed ? Sir *Foulk Grevil* told him, that it was the Queens favour, which the day before, and after the Tilting she had sent him ; whereat my Lord of *Essex*, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, Now I perceive every fool must have a favour.

This bitter and publike affront came to Sir *Charles Blunts* eare, who sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near *Mary-bone-park*, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh and disarmed : the Queen missing the men, was very curious to learn the truth ; and when at last it was whispered out, she swore by Gods death, it

was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him. And here I note the inition of my Lords friendship with *Mountjoy*, which the Queen her self did then conjure.

Now for same, we need not goe farre; for my Lord of *Essex* having borne a grudge to Generall *Norris*, who had (unwittingly) offered to undertake the action of *Britain* with fewer men, than my Lord had before demanded: on his return with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the onely man for the *Irish* Warre; wherein my Lord of *Essex* so wrought, by despising the number, and quality of Rebels, that *Norris* was sent over with a scanted force, joyned with the reliques of the veterane Troops of *Britain*, of set purpose (as it fell out) to ruine *Norris*; and the Lord *Burrowes*, by my Lords procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief; and to confine *Norris* onely to his Government at *Munster*, which brake the great heart of the General, to see himself undervalued and undermined by my Lord and *Burrowes*, which was as the Proverb speakes it, *Imberbes docere senes.*

My Lord *Burrowes*, in the beginning of his prosecution dyed; whereupon the Queen was fully bent to have sent over *Mountjoy*, which my Lord of *Essex* utterly disliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt against *Mountjoy*, his then professed friend and familiar; so predominant were his words, to reap the honour of closing up that Warre, and all other.

Now the way being opened and plained by his own workmanship, and so handled that none durst appear to stand for the place, at last with much adoe

he obtained his own ends, and withall his fatall destruction, leaving the Queen and the Court (where he stood firm and impregnable in her grace) to men that long had sought and watcht their times to give him the trip, and could never find any opportunity but this of his absence, and of his own creation. And these are the true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but carried and transported with an over-desire and thirstinesse after fame, and that deceitful fame of popularity. And to help on his Catastrophe, I observe likewise two sorts of people that had a hand in his fall; the first was the Souldiery, which all flockt unto him, as fortelling a mortality; and are commonly of blunt and too rough counsels, and many times dissonant from the time of the Court and the State. The other sort were of his family, his servants, and his own creatures, such as were bound by the rules of safety, and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that Boat, wherein they themselves were carried, and not have suffered it to float and run on ground, with those empty Sailes of Fame and Rumour of popular applause. Me thinks one honest man or other, that had but the office of brushing his clothes, might have whispered in his ear, My Lord, look to it, this multitude that follows you, will either devour you, or undoe you; strive not to rule, and over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure envy; and if needs your Genius must have it so, let the Court, and the Queens presence be your station. But as I have said, they had suckt too much of their Lords milk, and instead of withdrawing, they blew the coales of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory; yea, and mixed

the goodnesse of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever accompanied with a destiny of the same fate. And of this number there were some insufferable Natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbade; Amongst whom, Sir *Henry Wotton* notes (without injury) his Secretary *Cuffe* a vile man, and of a perverse nature: I could also name others, that when he was in the right course of recovery, and setling to moderation, would not suffer a recesse in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humours, which by time, and his affliction, out of his own judgement he sought to repose; or to give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this Noble Lord, as a mixture between prosperity and adversity; once the Childe of his great Mistresse favour, but the son of *Bellona*.

Buckhurst.

MY Lord of *Buckhurst* was of the Noble House of the *Sackvils*, and of the Queens consanguinity; his Father was Sir *Richard Sackvil*, or as the people then called him, Fill-sack, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony which he left to this his Son; whereof he spent in his youth the best part, untill the Queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profusion. He was a very fine Gentleman of person and endowments both of art and nature; but without measure magnificent, till on the turn of his humour, and the allay that his yeares and good counsels had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his House. And then did the Queen, as a most judicious and indulgent

Prince, when she saw the man grow stayed and setled, give him her assistance, and advanced him to the Treasurership, where he made amends to his House for his mis-spent time, both in the increasement of Estate and Honour, which the Queen conferred on him, together with the opportunity to remake himself, and thereby to shew that this was a Childe, that should have a share in her grace, and a taste of her bounty.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the excellency of his Pen, for he was a Schollar, and a person of a quick dispatch, (Faculties that yet run in the bloud) And they say of him, that his Secretaries did little for him by the way of Inditement, wherein they could seldome please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and stile : And for his Dispatches, and the content he gave to Suiters, he had a decorum seldome since put in practise ; for he had of his Attendants that took into Roll the names of all Suiters, with the Date of their first Addresses ; and these in their Order had hearing ; so that a fresh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, except in the urgent affaires of State.

I find not, that he was any wayes insnared in the factions of the Court, which were all his times strong, and in every mans note ; The *Howards* and the *Cecils* on the one part, My Lord of *Essex*, etc. on the other part. For he held the staffe of the Treasury fast in his hand, which once in the year made them all beholding to him, And the truth is, (as he was a wise man, and a stout) he had no reason to be a partaker ; for he stood sure in bloud, and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queens service ; and such were his abilities, that she received

assiduous proofes of his sufficiency; and it hath been thought, that she might have had more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgement and confidence in his wayes, which are symptomes of magnanimity and fidelity; whereunto me thinkes this Motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice.* As though he would have charactered in a word the Genius of his House, or exprest somewhat of an higher inclination, than lay within his compasse. That he was a Courtier, is apparent, for he stood alwayes in her eye and favour.

Lord *Mountjoy.*

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly deceived in the support thereof, Patrimony; through his Grandfathers excess in the action of *Bullen,* his Fathers vanity in the search of the Philosophers stone, and his Brothers untimely prodigalities; all which seemed by a joynt conspiracy to ruine the House, and altogether to annihilate it.

As he came from *Oxford,* he took the *Inner-Temple* in his way to Court; whither he no sooner came, but (without asking) he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty yeares of age, of a Brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat Composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at *White-Hall,* and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the Court: the Queen had soon found him out, and with a kind of an affected frown, asked the Lady Carver what he was? she answered, She knew him not; Insomuch as

enquiry was made from one to another, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him, (as she was wont to doe, and to daunt men she knew not) stirred the bloud of this young Gentleman, insomuch as his colour came and went; which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious words, and new lookes; and so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, That she no sooner observed him, but that she knew there was in him some Noble bloud, with some other expressions of pity towards his house: And then again demanding his name, she said, Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink my self how to doe you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace. Where it falls into consideration, That though he wanted not wit and courage, (for he had very fine Attractions, and being a good piece of a Schollar) yet were they accompanied with the retractivenesse of bashfulnesse, and a naturall modesty, which (as the tone of his house, and the ebbe of his fortune then stood) might have hindred his progression, had they not been re-inforced by the infusion of Soveraign favour, and the Queens gracious invitation. And that it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretique Necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scant untill his Brother dyed, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then was it no more than 1000 Marks *per annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully in a fine way and garb, and without any great sustenation, during all her times. And as there was

in his nature a kind of backwardnesse, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclination to Armes, and a humour of travelling: which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen her self laid in her commands, he would (out of his naturall propension) have marred his own market: For as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Souldier, so was he strongly invited by his Genius to the acquaintance of the practique of the Warre; which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came over with a Noble acceptance of the Queen; but somewhat restlesse in honourable thoughts, he exposed himself again and again, and would presse the Queen with the pretences of visiting his Company so often, that at length he had a flat deniall; and yet he stole over with Sir *Iohn Norris* into the action of *Britain*, (which was then a hot and active Warre) whom he would alwayes call his Father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end: so contrary he was in his esteem and valuation of this great Commander, to that of his friend, my Lord of *Essex*. Till at last, the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence: And upon my Lord *Essex* fall, (so confident she was in her own Princely judgement, and opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct) that she would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish Warre to a propitious end: For it was propheticall speech of her own, That it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the thred of that fatall Rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the

grave. Where she was not deceived; for he atchieved it, but with much paines and carefulnesse, and not without the feares and many jealousies of the Court and times, wherewith the Queens age, and the malignity of her setting times were replete.

And so I come to his dear Friend in Court, Master Secretary *Cecil*, whom in his long absence from Court he adored as his Saint, and courted for his onely *Mæcenas*, both before and after his departure from Court, and during all the time of his Command in *Ireland*, well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or marre him.

Cecil.

SIr *Robert Cecil*, since Earle of *Salisbury*, was the son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and the inheritor of his wisedome, and by degrees, Successor of his places and favours, though not of his Lands; for he had *Thomas Cecil* his elder brother, since created Earle of *Exeter*. He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Wards, and in the last of her raign came to be Lord Treasurer; all which were the steps of his Fathers greatnesse, and of the honour he left to his House. For his person, he was not much beholding to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: but for his inside, it may be said, and without solœcisme, that he was his Fathers own son, and a pregnant proficient in all discipline of State: He was a Courtier from his Cradle, (which might have made him betimes) yet at the age of twenty and upwards, he was much short of his after-proof; but exposed, and by change of climate, he soon made shew what he was, and would be: He lived in those

times wherein the Queen had most need, and use of men of weight; and amongst able ones, this was a chief, as having his sufficiency from his instructions that begat him, the Tutorship of the times, and Court, which were then the Academies of Art and Cunning; for such was the Queens condition from the tenth or twelfth of her Raign, that she had the happinesse to stand up (whereof there is a former intimation) though invironed with more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practises, than any Prince of her times, and of many ages before. Neither must we in this her preservation attribute too much to humane policies: for that God in his omnipotent providence had not onely ordained those secundary meanes, as instruments of the work, but by an evident manifestation, that the same work which she acted, was a well-pleasing service of his own, out of a peculiar care had decreed the protection of the work-Mistresse, and thereunto added his abundant blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertook; which is an observation of satisfaction to my self, that she was in the right; though to others now breathing under the same form, and frame of her Government, it may not seem an animadversion of any worth: but I leave them to the peril of their own folly.

And so again to this great Master of State, and the Staffe of the Queens declining age; who though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a headpiece of a vast content, and therein it seemes nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best part about him, as that to the perfection of his memory, and intellectuals, she took care also of his sences, and to put him into *Linceos Oculos*, or

to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argus*, so to give unto him a prospective sight; and for the rest of his sensitive vertues, his predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a receit, to smell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was so well seen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every part, every Ship, with the burthens, whither bound with preparation, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsels, and resolutions. And that we may see (as in a little Map) how docible this little man was: I will present a taste of his abilities.

My Lord of *Devonshire*, (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a strong Army) had written very earnestly to the Queen and the Councell, for such supplies to be sent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his prosecution against the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecil*, (besides the generall dispatch of the Councell, as he often did) wrote this in private; for these two began then to love dearly.

My Lord. *Out of the abundunce of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing; I must in private put you out of doubt, (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible, than in the way of Honour) that the* Spaniard *will not come unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what preparations are in all his parts, and what he can doe: for be confident, he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next year, be assured, he will cast over unto you some forlorn hopes, which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgement, but I believe out of my intelligence, that*

you may expect their landing in Munster, *and the more to distract you, in severall places, as at* Kings-Saile, Beer-haven, Baltimore, *where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortifie and learn the strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the field; howsoever (as I know you will not) lessen not your care, neither your defences; and whatsoever lies within my power to doe you and the publike service, rest thereof assured.*

And to this I would adde much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much as to his abilities in the Pen, that he was his Crafts-master in forraign intelligence: And for domestique affaires, as he was one of those that sate at the Stern to the last of the Queen, so he was none of the least in skill, and in the true use of the Compasse.

And so I shall onely vindicate the scandall of his death, and conclude him: For he departed at S. *Margarets* neer *Marleborough*, in his return from the *Bath*; as my Lord Viscount *Cranbourne*, my Lord *Clifford* his Son, and Son-in-law, my self, and many more can witnesse. But that the day before he swounded in the way, was taken out of the Litter, and laid into his Coach, was a truth, out of which that falshood, concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

Vere.

SIr *Francis Vere* was of the ancient and of the most Noble extract of the Earles of *Oxford*: And it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his Atchievements

might most commend him ; but that we have an authentique Rule to decide the doubt :

Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.

For though he were an Honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, (which was no disadvantage to his vertue) yet he brought more glory to the Name of *Vere* than he took of Bloud from the Family. He was amongst the Queens Sword-men inferior to none, but superior to many : Of whom it may be said, To speak much of him, were the way to leave out something that might adde to his praise, and to forget more that could adde to his Honour.

I find not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Camp : but when he did, no man had more of the Queens favour, and none lesse envied ; for he seldome troubled it with the jealousie and allarums of supplantations ; his way was another sort of undermining. They report, that the Queen (as she loved Martiall men) would Court this Gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence. And surely he was a Souldier of great worth, and commanded thirty yeares in the service of the States, and twenty yeares over the *English* in chief, as the Queens Generall : and he that had seen the Battail of *Newport*, might there best have taken him, and his Noble Brother my Lord of *Tilbury*, to the life.

Worcester.

MY Lord of *Worcester* I have here put last, but not least in the Queens favour. He was of the ancient and noble Bloud of the *Bewfords*, and of her Grandfathers line by the Mother; which the Queen could never forget, especially where there was a concurrencie of old bloud with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the Queens nature. And though there might appear something in this House which might avert her grace, (though not to speak of my Lord himself, but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety of suspition in Religion; yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this Noble Lord, whom she first made Master of the Horse, and then admitted of her Councell of State. In his youth (part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court) he was a very fine Gentleman, and the best Horseman and Tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the Court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of Ladies. And when yeares had abated these Exercises of Honour, he grew then to be a faithfull and profound Counceller. And as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all the Servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned Mistresse, and all of them laid in the places of their rest: And for himself, after a life of a very noble and remarkable reputation, he dyed rich, and in a peaceable old age. A fate (that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations) which befell not many of the rest; for they expired like unto lights blown out, with the

snuffe stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by.

And thus I have delivered up this my poor Essay; A little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and favour. I cannot say, I have finished it; for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the originall nature, not without the active blemishes; and so left it as a task fitter for remote times, and the sallies of some bolder Pensil to correct that which is amisse, and draw the rest up to life. As for me to have endeavoured it, I took it to consideration, how easily I might have dasht in too much of the strain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done: For I professe, I have taken care so to master my Pen, that I might not (*ex animo*, or of set purpose) discolour truth, or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment. Happily there are some which will not approve of this modesty, but will censure me for pusillanimity, and with cunning Artists attempt to draw their Line further out at large, and upon this of mine; which may with somewhat more ease be effected, for that the frame is ready made to their hands; and then happily I could draw one in the midst of theirs. But that modesty in me forbids the defacements of Men departed, whose Posterity yet remaining, enjoyes the merit of their vertues, and doe still live in their Honour. And I had rather incurre the censure of abruption, than to be conscious, and taken in the manner of eruption, and of trampling upon the graves of Persons at rest; which living, we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses to them, otherwise than with due regard to their Honours, and renown to their Vertues.

OF EDUCATION

BY JOHN MILTON

JOHN MILTON

1608–74

TRACTATE ON EDUCATION

[1644. Milton's interest in the theory of education had been quickened at this period by practical considerations, arising out of his experiences as schoolmaster to two nephews, to whom were added a few other pupils. It is allowable to assume, therefore, that some of the ideas he expounded in print had been put to the test in the schoolroom. Modern pedagogues have shown little respect for the poet's views in regard to education; nevertheless, he was an earnest pioneer in a field that later workers have ploughed with much industry, and often with considerable perplexity and small sense of direction. Upon whatever basis of experience the Tractate may rest, it is pleasant to think of Milton instructing the young Phillipses in 'the exact use of their weapon' and in 'all the locks and gripes of wrestling'.]

OF EDUCATION

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

Master Hartlib,

I AM long since perswaded, that to say, or doe aught worth memory, and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, then simply the love of God, and of mankinde. Neverthelesse to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designes, that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earnest entreaties, and serious conjurements; as having my minde for the present halfe diverted in the persuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which, cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living, with much more peace. Nor should the lawes of any private friendship have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a farre country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this Iland. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of highest authority among us. Not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in forreigne parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both heer, and beyond the Seas;

either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is Gods working. Neither can I thinke that so reputed, and so valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument, but that the satisfaction which you professe to have receiv'd from those incidentall discourses which we have wander'd into, hath prest & almost constrain'd you into a perswasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought, nor can in conscience deferre beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to trie what God hath determin'd. I will not resist therefore, what ever it is either of divine, or humane obligement that you lay upon me ; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea,* which hath long in silence presented it self to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension farre more large, and yet of time farre shorter, and of attainment farre more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be ; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreame need should be done sooner then spok'n. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare ; and to search what many modern *Ianua's* and *Didactics* more then ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowr'd off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative yeers altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleas'd you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the neerest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found it selfe but on sensible things, nor arrive so cleerly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be follow'd in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition anough for all kinde of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; So that language is but the instrument convaying to us things usefull to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem'd a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessfull; first we do amisse to spend seven or eight yeers meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latin, and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one yeer. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behinde, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose Theams, verses, and Orations, which are the

acts of ripest judgement and the finall work of a head fill'd by long reading, and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit: besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek *idiom*, with their untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continu'd and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste, whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lesson'd throughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rationall and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein: And for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old errour of universities not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grosnesse of barbarous ages, that in stead of beginning with Arts most easie, and those be such as are most obvious to the sence, they present their young unmatriculated novices, at first comming with the most intellective abstractions of Logick & metaphysicks: So that they having but newly left those Grammatick flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climat to be tost and turmoild with their unballasted wits in fadomless and unquiet deeps of controversie, do for the most

part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightfull knowledge; till poverty or youthfull yeers call them importunately their severall wayes, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; some allur'd to the trade of Law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent, and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to State affairs, with souls so unprincipl'd in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts and tyrannous aphorismes appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their daies in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unlesse they were with more integrity undertak'n. And these are the errours, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning meere words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearned.

I shall detain you now no longer in the demonstration of what we should not doe, but strait conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious

sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more adoe to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubbs from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choisest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sowthistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a compleate and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publike of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve, and one and twenty, lesse time then is now bestow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus order'd.

First to find out a spatious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to doe all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done. This place should be at once both School and University, not needing a remove to any other house of Schollership, except it be some peculiar Colledge of Law, or Physick, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those generall studies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needfull in every City throughout this land, which would tend much to the encrease of learning and civility every where. This number, lesse or more thus collected, to the convenience of

a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their daies work into three parts, as it lies orderly. Their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies, First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better : and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and cleer pronuntiation, as neer as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being farre northerly, doe not open our mouthes in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern tongue ; but are observ'd by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward : So that to smatter Latin with an english mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next to make them expert in the usefullest points of grammar, and withall to season them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vain principle seise them wandering, some easie and delightfull book of Education would be read to them ; whereof the Greeks have store as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authoritie extant, except the two or three first books of *Quintilian*, and some select peeces elsewhere. But here the main skill and ground-work will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of learning, and the admiration of vertue ; stirr'd up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish, and ill taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberall exercises : which he

who hath the Art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectuall perswasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into their young brests such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchlesse men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetick, and soon after the elements of Geometry even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed time their thoughts will be best taken up in the easie grounds of Religion, and the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easie, and, if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficultie above their yeers. And here will be an occasion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the wast that is made of good: for this was one of Hercules praises. Ere halfe these Authors be read, which will soon be with plying hard, and dayly, they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author, the use of the Globes, and all the maps first with the old names; and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of naturall Philosophy. And at the same time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescrib'd in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of Grammar being soon overcome, all the Historicall Physiology of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*

are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like accesse will be to Vitruvius, to *Senecas* naturall questions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography* with a generall compact of Physicks, they may descend in *Mathematicks* to the instrumentall science of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to Fortification, *Architecture*, Enginry, or navigation. And in naturall Philosophy they may proceed leisurly from the History of *Meteors*, minerals, plants and living creatures as farre as Anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of Physick; that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely doe, is not onely a great Physician to himselfe, and to his friends, but also may at some time or other, save an Army by this frugal, and expencelesse meanes only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline; which is a great pitty, and no lesse a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature & mathematicks, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needfull, the helpfull experiences of Hunters, fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, *Apothecaries*; and in the other sciences, *Architects*, Engineers, Mariners, *Anatomists*; who doubtlesse would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopefull Seminary. And this will give them such a reall tincture of naturall knowledge, as they shall never forget, but dayly augment with delight. Then also those Poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*,

Theocritus, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius* and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rurall part of Virgil.

By this time, yeers and good generall precepts will have furnisht them more distinctly with that act of reason which in *Ethics* is call'd *Proairesis* : that they may with some judgement contemplat upon morall good and evill. Then will be requir'd a speciall reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of vertue and the hatred of vice : while their young and pliant affections are led through all the morall works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants ; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies wherewith they close the dayes work, under the determinat sentence of *David*, or *Salomon*, or the Evangels and *Apostolic* scriptures. Being perfit in the knowledge of personall duty, they may then begin the study of Economies. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odde hour the *Italian* tongue. And soon after, but with warinesse, and good antidote, it would be wholsome anough to let them tast some choise comedies Greek, Latin, or *Italian* : Those tragedies also that treate of houshold matters, as *Trachiniæ*, *Alcestis* and the like. The next remove must be to the study of *Politics* ; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of politicall societies ; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the common-wealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellers have lately shewn themselves, but stedfast pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legall justice ; deliver'd first, and with best

warrant by *Moses*; and as farre as humane prudence can be trusted, in those extoll'd remains of Grecian Law-givers, *Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas*, and thence to all the Romane *Edicts* and tables with their *Iustinian*; and so down to the *Saxon* and common laws of England, and the Statutes. Sundayes also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and Church History ancient and modern; and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gain'd, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own originall; whereto it would be no impossibility to adde the *Chaldey*, and the *Syrian* dialect. When all these employments are well conquer'd, then will the choise Histories, *heroic poems*, and *Attic* tragedies of statliest, and most regal argument, with all the famous Politicall orations offer themselves; which if they were not only read; but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit, and vigor of *Desmothenes* or *Cicero, Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is usefull, is to be referr'd to this due place with all her well-coucht heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being lesse suttle and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here

the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art which in *Aristotles poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian* commentaries of *Castelvetro*, *Tasso*, *Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true *Epic* poem, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what decorum is, which is the grand master peece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and play-writes be, and shew them, what Religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universall insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parlament or counsell, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in Pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuffe otherwise wrought then what we now sit under, oft times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unlesse they rely more upon their ancestors dead, than upon themselves living. In which methodicall course it is so suppos'd they must proceed by the steddy pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memories sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, untill they have confirm'd, and solidly united the whole body of their perfited knowledge, like the last embatteling of a Romane legion. Now will be worth

the seeing what exercises, and what recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

Their Exercise.

The course of study hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can guesse by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of *Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned Philosophers, orators, Historians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece, Italy,* and *Asia,* besides the flourishing studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria.* But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the common-wealth of *Sparta* ; whereas that City train'd up their youth most for warre, and these in their Academies and *Lycæum,* all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for Peace and warre. Therefore about an hour and a halfe ere they eat at noon should be allow'd them for exercise and due rest afterwards : But the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon ; to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point ; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest meanes to make them grow large, and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearlesse courage, which being temper'd with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude, and patience, will turn into a native and heroick valour, and make them hate the cowardise of doing wrong. They must be also practiz'd in all the locks and gripes of wrastling, wherein English men were wont to excell, as need may often be in

fight to tugge, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be anough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travail'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of musick heard, or learnt; either while the skilfull *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fuges, or the whole Symphony with artfull and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied cords of some choise composer; some times the Lute, or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices either to Religious, martiall, or civill ditties; which if wise men & prophets be not extreamly out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustick harshnesse and distemper'd passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their mindes backe to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having follow'd it close under vigilant eyes till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarum or watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Romane wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on horse back, to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactnesse, and dayly muster, serv'd out the rudiments of their Souldiership in all the skill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, beseiging and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, *Tactiks* and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long warre come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of

their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopefull armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft suppli'd: they would not suffer their empty & unrecrutible Colonells of twenty men in a company, to quaffe out, or convay into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant: yet in the mean while to be overmaster'd with a score or two of drunkards, the only souldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences, no certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governours, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure it selfe abroad; In those vernal seasons of the yeer, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullennesse against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a perswader to them of studying much then, after two or three yeer that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land: learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and Ports for trade. Somtimes taking sea as farre as to our Navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea fight. These wayes would trie all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it selfe by, which could not

but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired vertues and excellencies, with farre more advantage now in this puritie of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *Mounsieurs* of *Paris* to take our hopefull youth into their slight and prodigall custodies and send them over back again transform'd into mimics, apes & Kicshoes. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty yeers of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they passe, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

Now lastly for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthfull, and moderat I suppose is out of controversie. Thus Master *Hartlib*, you have a generall view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at severall times I had discourst with you concerning the best and Noblest way of Education; not beginning, as some have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope, many other circumstances also I could have mention'd, but this to such as have the worth in them to make triall, for light and direction may be anough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himselfe a teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses,

yet I am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious : howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes ; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity anough to apprehend.

A PAPER

SENT FORTH INTO THE WORLD FROM THEM THAT ARE SCORNFULLY CALLED QUAKERS

BY GEORGE FOX

GEORGE FOX

1624–91

A PAPER SENT FORTH INTO THE WORLD FROM THEM THAT ARE SCORNFULLY CALLED QUAKERS; DECLARING THE GROUND AND REASONS WHY THEY DENY THE TEACHERS OF THE WORLD, WHO PROFESS THEMSELVES TO BE MINISTERS, AND DISSENT FROM THEM.

[1654. Joseph Smith (*Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867–1893) states that this is a reprint of 'A Paper showing why we deny the Teachers of the World', 1652. No copy of this alleged earlier publication exists, however, either in the Society of Friends' Library or in the British Museum. I am indebted to the Friends' Librarian in London for the following note: 'The very meagre particulars given by Smith lead one to think that he had not himself seen the pamphlet. My only suggestion is that he copied the entry from the Catalogue of Friends' Books prepared by John Whiting in 1708 (see Smith's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 920).' In the British Museum copy of the (1654) edition, here reprinted, there appears against the title, in contemporary handwriting, the inscription *March 16, 1653*.]

A Paper sent forth into the world from them that are scornfully called QUAKERS; Declaring the ground and reasons why they deny the Teachers of the world, who profess themselves to be Ministers, and dissent from them.

FIRST, they are such shepherds that seek for their gain from their quarter, and can never have enough, which the Lord sent *Isaiah* to cry out against, who bid all come freely, without money, and without price, and was not hired but spoke freely; and these make merchandize and a trade of his words, and therefore we cry out against them and deny them. *Isa.* 56. 11 and 54. 1.

They are such Shepherds that seek for the fleece, and cloath with the wool, and feed on the fat, which the Lord sent *Ezekiel* to cry wo against, who made a prey upon us; and the Lord said he would gather his sheep from their mouthes, and that we should be a prey to them no longer, and we do witness the promise of the Lord fulfilled, and therefore we deny them, *Ezek.* 54. 34.

They are such Priests as bear rule by their means, which was a horrible and filthy thing committed in the Land, which the Lord sent *Jeremiah* to cry out against; while we had eyes & did not see, we held up such Priests, but the Lord hath opened our eyes, and we see them now in the same estate that they were which *Jeremiah* cried out against, who did not

bear rule by his means, and therefore we deny them, *Jer.* 5. 31.

They are such Prophets and Priests that divine for money, and preach for hire, which the Lord sent *Micha* to cry against; and whilst we put into their mouths, they preached peace to us, but now we do not put into their mouths, they preach war against us, and therefore we deny them, *Micha* 3. 11.

They are such as are called of men Masters, and call men Masters, and have the chiefest place in the Assemblies, and stand praying in the Synagogues, and lay heavy burthens upon the people, which Jesus Christ cried wo against, and bid his Disciples not to be so, be ye not called of men Masters, for one is your Master, even Christ, and ye are all brethren; so we do witness Jesus Christ our Master, and see them to be in the steps of the Pharisees, and therefore we deny them. *Mat.* 3. 10. *Mat.* 23.

They are such teachers that, with feigned words, and through covetousness, made merchandize of us, and do upon the people, who by oppression maintain themselves and wives in pride and idleness, in hoode, veils, and changeable suits of apparel; who go in the way of *Cain*, to envy, murder, and persecute; and after the error of *Balaam*, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, following after gifts and rewards, which the Apostles cried out against, and therefore we deny them. 2 *Pet.* 2. *Jude* 11.

They are such teachers that have told us, the Steeple-house hath been the Church, whenas the Scripture saith, *The Church is in God,* and therefore we deny them. 1 *Thess.* 1. 1.

They are such teachers as have told us the letter was the word, whenas the letter saith, *God is the Word,* therefore we deny them. *Joh.* 1. 1.

They are such teachers, as have told us, the letter was the light, whenas the letter saith, *Christ is the light*, therefore we deny them. *Joh.* 1. 1, 19. and 8. 12.

They are such teachers as sprinkle Infants, calling it an Ordinance of Christ, and baptizing into the faith into the Church, whenas the Scripture saith no such thing, and therefore we deny them; but the baptism by one Spirit into one body we own. 1 *Cor.* 12, 13.

They are such teachers as tell people of a Sacrament, for which there is not one Scripture, and so feed the people with their own inventions, and therefore we deny them; but the Table and Supper of the Lord we own. 1 *Cor.* 10.

They are such teachers as tell people, that *Matthew, Mark, Luke* and *John*, is the Gospel, which are but the letter, *The Lamb of God which takes away the sins of the world*, is glad tidings to poor captives; glad tidings were promised before the letter was written, the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpents head, and he shall be a light unto the Gentiles, the letter is a declaration of the Gospel, and many have the letter, but not Christ; but we having received the Gospel, know them to be no Ministers of it, and therefore do deny them. *Gen.* 3. 15. *Luke* 1. 1.

They are such Ministers as go to *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and call them the Well-heads of divinity, and so deny the fountains of living mercies, and there they study, and read books, and old Authors, and furnish themselves with Philosophy, and fine words, and other mens matter, and when they come again they sell it to poor people, whenas the Apostle saith, he was not made a Minister by the will of

man, and that the Gospel which he preached was not of man, nor had he received it from man, neither was he taught it, and denied all his learning which he had got by the will of man at the feet of *Gamaliel*; and so finding them in will of man, preaching by the will of man, we cannot but deny them. *Gal.* 1.

They are such teachers that tell people that *Hebrew* and *Greek* is the original, whenas the Apostle spake in the *Hebrew* tongue to the *Hebrews*, who heard him in their own language, and yet persecuted him; and the *Greeks*, who had the Gospel in their own tongue, said, *The cross of Christ was foolishness*; these who had the Scriptures in their own languages were as ignorant of the life of them, as our natural Priests, who spen'd so much time in learning a natural language, to finde out what those meant that spoke forth the Scripture; who make poor people believe, that to know a natural tongue, is the means to understand the original; the word which is the original, was before all languages were, the word was in the beginning, which word was made manifest in all the children of God, who spake forth the Scriptures: holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Now all ye learned ones, where is your original? here you and your original is rased out from the word, which is the original, which the Apostles preached amongst the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, which was before tongues were, and your original, which will break all your tongues and original to pieces. *Pilate* had your original of *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*, who crucified Christ; he that draws back into many languages as into *Hebrew* & *Greek*, draws back into the naturals, and so draws into confusion; but the Ministers of God, who preach the everlasting Gospel which

endures for ever, draw up into our language, and so the Priests and all that trade in natural languages we utterly deny. *Act.* 22. 2. 1 *Cor.* 1. 23. *Joh.* 19. 20.

They are such teachers as have told us that the Steeple-house is the Temple, whenas the Apostle said, *Your bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost*; and *Stephen* was stoned to death for witnessing against the Temple, who said, *God that made the world, dwells not in temples made with hands*; and here finding them in the generation that hold up the figures, and deny the substance, and to be ignorant of that Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, we cannot but deny them. 1 *Cor.* 6. 19. *Act.* 7.

They are such Priests that take Tythes, the tenth of mens labours and estates, and those that will not give them, they sue at the Law, and hale before Courts and Sessions, yea, even those they call their own people, their own Parishoners; *Levi* according to the Law received Tythes, and he had a command to set open his gates, that the strangers and the fatherless should come within his gates and be satisfied and filled, but we finde none more pitiless of the fatherless and widows than they, and the strangers they complain against to Justices, and persecute (though they neither seek to them nor others, for any outward thing) as wanderers; and here they walk contrary to the old Law; & the Apostle in his Epistle to the *Hebrews* said, *The Priesthood being changed, there must of necessity be also a change of the Law*, and we witness both the Priesthood and the Law changed; but they that take Tythes, and they that pay Tythes according to the old covenant, deny Jesus Christ the everlasting Priest to be come in the flesh, & here these Priests show themselves

to be Antichrist, that are entered into the world, and oppress the creation, whenas Jesus Christ said, *Freely ye have received, freely give*; and the Apostle said, *Was there a wise man amongst them that went to law one with another?* here they are evil examples to the people, to sue, wrangle and contend, and walk out of the steps of Christ, and all the holy men of God; yea, they exceed all the false prophets in wickedness, for we do not read, that ever any of them sued man at the Law, and therefore we cannot but utterly deny them. *Deut.* 14. 29. *Heb.* 7. 12.

They are such Priests as besides their Tythe of corn, hay, beast, sheep, hens, piggs, geese, eggs, cheries, apples, plumbs, take 10*s*. for preaching a Funeral-Sermon more or less, as they can get it, and 10*s*. for the death of a man, and money out of servants wages, and money for smoak passing up the chimneys, and Easter-reckonings, and Mid-summer dues, and money for churching of women, and thus by every device get money, and burthen poor people, that labour very hard, and can scarce get food and rayment, to maintain them in idleness and pride: these are they that have hearts exercised with covetousness, burthening the truth, and making the free Gospel chargeable; if the Apostle were here, he would be ashamed of them, and so are we, and therefore turn from them and deny them, 2 *Pet.* 2. 3.

They are such Priests as not only take Tythes and money for many other things of their own hearers, and sue them at the law for it, but they take money of them they do no work for, but onely rail against them, and say, *They that wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar*; but live of them who are not of the Altar, and say, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*; but take wages of them that

have not hired them, and if they will not give it them, cast them into prison, or take their goods by Justices Warrants ; these are they that Christ cried wo against, who lay heavy burthens upon the people, who oppress tender Consciences, that own the everlasting High Priest ; Where do they finde any of the ministers of Christ bargaining for so much a yeer, here they abide not in the doctrine of Christ, but are hirelings, and therefore we deny them, *Mat.* 23. 4.

They are such preachers as have told us, They have been gifted men, and we finde in the Scriptures, that the gift of God is free, and not to be bought and sold, and *Job* said, *Wisdom is not to be purchased for money nor gold* ; but they will not sell their gift under 200.*l.* 100.*l.* 80.*l.* or 50.*l.* a yeer, more or less, as they can get it ; here we finde they have not received the gift of God, but are like *Simon Magus*, and therefore we deny them. *Act.* 8. 20. *Job* 28.

They are *Babylons* Merchants that make a trade of the Scriptures, and the Saints conditions, which the Prophets and Apostles spoke forth freely without money, and without price, and bade all come freely. How many hundred thousand pounds in *England* is gained by the Scriptures, and humane authors joyned to it ? Where is there a more profitable trade ? Here they make the Scriptures their cloak and colour to get money by, and so make an Idol of it, and if any come to witness it fulfilled, as it was in them that gave it forth, they cry out to the Magistrates against them as blasphemers and deceivers ; and if they answer, He that administers spiritual things ought to reap carnals, let him consider the Apostle wrote not that to the world, but to those that they had gathered out of the world,

to whom the ends of the world were come, & let them gather people out of the world, and then they shall not need to bargain with them for things of the world ; but their trading is with the world, and therefore we deny them. *Isa.* 55. 1.

They are such Preachers as take a text of the Saints conditions, and take a weeks time to study what they can raise out of it, adding to it their own wisdom, inventions, imaginations, and heathenish Authors, and then on the first day of the week go amongst the people, having an hour glass to limit themselves by, and say, *Hear the word of the Lord* ; and for money tell people what they have scraped together.

These are they that speak a divination of their own heart, and not from the mouth of the Lord, which the Lord sent *Jeremiah* to cry out against. *Jer.* 23.

These are they that use their tongues, and say, *The Lord saith*, whenas the Scriptures say so, and the Lord never spoke to them. *Jer.* 23. 30.

These are they of whom the Lord speaks, *I am against all* such as steal my word every one from his neighbour ; and so we are against all such as *Jeremiah* was sent to cry wo against, the Pastors that now steal the words of the Prophets, of Christ, and the Apostles ; the Lord hath shaken his hand at their dishonest gain, and to them belong the plagues that are written in the book they make a trade on, for adding to it their own invention, therefore do we come out from amongst them, and deny them. *Jer.* 23. 31.

These are they of whom the Apostle speaks, *They creep into houses, leading silly women captive, which are lead away with divers lusts, which be ever learning,*

and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, though some have learned 50, 60, or 70 yeers, *covetous, proud, high-minded, self-willed, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, who have gotten a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof, from which* the Apostle bad *turn away,* and so do we. 2 *Tim.* 3. 6.

They are such Teachers, that gave us, and give people, Davids conditions in meeter, and when we had no understanding we sung after them, as ignorant people do now, his tremblings, his quakings, his weepings, fastings, prayers and prophecies, and when we sung we put off our hats, and when they read them we kept them on, and so they caused us to worship the works of their own hand ; here they shew the spirit of error, making wicked people to sing, *O Lord I am not puft in minde, I have no scornful eye, I do not exercise my self in things that are too high,* when they are puft in minde, and have scornful eyes, and do exercise themselves in things that are too high, and are full of filth, pride and loftiness, and can scarce look at one another ; here they make poor people to offer a sacrifice of lyes, and make them hypocrites, deceiving themselves, saying what they are not ; but the singing with the Spirit and understanding we own, and therefore the Priests that sing without understanding we deny. 1 *Cor.* 14. 15.

They are such Teachers as deny the conditions that the Saints witnessed, trembling and quaking ; whenas we find the holy men of God that gave forth the Scriptures witnessed such things. *Moses,* who was Judge over all *Israel,* feared, quaked, and trembled exceedingly ; and the Son of man was to eat his bread with quaking, and *Daniel* the man of

God trembled & was astonished, and *Jeremiah* the Prophet of the Lord reel'd to and fro like a drunken man,.and all his bones did shake, and *David* who was a King trembled and quaked, and *Ephraim* when he trembled was exalted in *Israel*, and *Habakkuk* who was a Prophet trembled, his belly shook, his lips quivered, and *Isaac* in whom the seed was called, trembled exceedingly, and *Paul* a Minister of Christ trembled; but they make a scorn of trembling and quaking, and shew themselves ignorant and strangers to the life and power of God, as their generation ever was, who still made a scorn and reproach of the holy men of God that trembled and quaked; but the seed of God, and the Prophets, and the servants of the Lord we own, and their condition we witness, and therefore all the Priests, and them that deny the holy men of God, we utterly deny. *Hebrews* 12. 21. *Ezekiel* 12. 18. *Daniel* 10. 10. *Jeremiah* 23. 9. *Psalm* 119. 120. *Hosea* 13. 1. *Habakkuk* 3. 16. *Acts* 9. 6. *Genesis* 27. 33.

They are such teachers as tell the people that Christ hath not enlightened every one that comes into the world: and here they go about to make Christ a lyer, and *John Baptist* a false Prophet, and deny the Scriptures; and they say, God hath not given every one a measure according to his ability, whenas Christ saith, He hath done it, *Christ is the Light of the world, and by him the world was made, and he came into the world, and the world received him not*, it is so now, *Light shines in darkness, and the darkness comprehends it not, and this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world*: the one he loves the light, and brings his deeds to it, *that they may be made manifest*; and walks in it, there is no occasion of stumbling in him, the other he

hates the light, *because his deeds are evil,* and this is his condemnation; and we witness the light wherewith Christ hath enlightened every one that comes into the world: and by obedience to the Light he is become our Master, our Teacher; and all who stumble at the Light, and deny it, are ignorant of the foundation stone, and know not the first Principle, but are shut out from knowing any thing of God, and therefore the Priests and all their followers we deny. *John* 1. 9. *and* 3. 19, 20. *Mal.* 25. 15.

They are such teachers as walk out of the doctrine of the Apostle, and practice of all the Churches. *Paul* saith, *If any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace, for all may prophesie one by one, that God in all things may be glorified, and you edified, and the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, and God is the Author of peace and not of confusion, and this was in all the Churches of the Saints.* But now if any man come among them, while they are speaking or when they have done, any be moved to speak any thing, them of their Church, the rude multitude, fall upon him with staves, fists, and punches, and knocks him down with stones, shewing themselves to be of that generation that stoned *Stephen* to death; and the Priests call to the Officers to take him to the stocks, and to carry him before the Magistrate, and from thence he is sent to prison, and called a disturber of the peace; here they shew themselves to be no Ministers of Christ, and their Assembly to be no Church, but in confusion, for that which was order amongst the Saints, is disorder amongst them; the Church of Christ was never fighters, nor quarrellers, nor stoners, such Churches are the fruits of the Ministery

of *England*, who were made by the will of man, and never sent of Christ, and therefore they do not profit the people at all, but are persecutors of the Messengers of Christ, and therefore we deny them. 1 Cor. 14. 32. 33. *Acts* 7. *Jer*. 23. 32.

They are such teachers as have told us we should never be made free from sin while we are upon earth, whenas the Apostle saith, They were made free from sin he thanks God, and had put off the body of sin ; so we find they had told us lies contrary to the Scripture, and the Apostle saith, *While we were servants of sin, we were free from righteousness* ; so in that state we finde them, and therefore we deny them. And they have told us none shall ever be sanctified, nor the body of sin destroyed, nor cleansed from sin, while they are upon the earth. whenas the Apostle said, *They were sanctified, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin*, and the Ministers of God said they reigned as Kings, and here they deny the Scriptures, and therefore we deny them. And they deny the begotten Son of God, which sinneth not, and call it blasphemy for any to witness that born which sins not, when the Scripture saith, *He that is born of God sinneth not, neither can he sin, because he is born of God, and the seed of God remains in him, and he that commits sin, is of the devil, and hereby are the children of God made manifest, and the children of the devil* ; and as he is, so are we in this present world, and a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit ; if the root be holy so are the branches, and one fountain cannot send forth sweet water, and bitter : he that can receive it, let him ; but the chief Priests, and Elders, and Pharisees, and Seducers, and Rulers at this stumbled then, and so they stumble now at the light, from whence

these words were given forth, which doth enlighten every one that comes into the world, and therefore we deny them. *Romans* 6. 18 and 6. 6. *Romans* 8. 10. 1 *Cor.* 6. 11. 1 *Joh.* 1. 7. 1 *Joh.* 3. 6, 9, 10. 1 *Joh.* 4. 17.

And they are such teachers that have told us none shall ever be perfect while they are upon the earth, whenas Christ saith, *Be ye perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect*: and the Apostle saith, *By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and the Ministery of Christ is for the perfecting of the Saints, till they all come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, to a perfect man.* Here we finde them to deny the Scriptures, and the everlasting offering, and all such we cannot but deny, and we witness the everlasting offering, which perfects for ever them that are sanctified. Praises to the Lord for ever, who hath sent forth his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, to condemn sin in the flesh, that in him we might be made the righteousness of God; and all that deny perfection and sanctification, deny this offering, and the gift of God, which is perfect, and the ministery of God, which is for perfecting the body, and such ministers as are not members of the body, nor can present any man perfect in Christ Jesus, and therefore we deny them. *Mat.* 5. 40. *Heb.* 10. 14. *Eph.* 4. 12, 13. 2. 2 *Cor.* 5. 21. *James* 1. 17.

They are such teachers as deny the everlasting Covenant, and the anointing, for if any come to witness that they are taught of God, and that he hath written his Law in their hearts, & put his Spirit within them, and that none need say to them, Know the Lord; then they cry out to the Magistrates, and ignorant people, These are the deceivers and false

Prophets that shall come in the last times, they deny the means; and when any witness that they have received an unction from the holy one, and need not that any man teach them, but as the anointing reacheth them of all things, then they cry out, These are seducers and seduced: and so here they deny the covenant of God, and the promise of God, and shew themselves to be the great seducers, that draw from the anointing, and finding their spirits contrary to the Scriptures, we cannot but deny them. *Jer.* 31. 33. *Heb.* 8. 11. 1 *Joh.* 2. 20, 27.

They are such Teachers that say, revelations are ceased and deny revelations, and so deny the Son, *For no man knows the Father, but he to whom the Son reveals him, and no man knows the things of God, but the Spirit of God, and he to whom the Spirit reveals them*: and the Apostle said, *It pleased the Father to reveal his Son in him*: and so he that denies revelations, denies both the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit; these are the Priests who talk of religion, and have gotten a form to trade with, and have received things by tradition, but are ignorant of God, and of the Spirit, by which all the Saints were ever guided, and therefore we deny them. *Mat.* 11. 27. 1 *Cor.* 2. 11. *Gal.* 1. 16. *Phil.* 3. 15.

Therefore all people consider what you do, and hold up, and worship, for the worship is but one, and the word is but one, and the baptism is but one, and the Church is but one, and the way is but one, and the light is but one, and the power is but one; but they that are without, have many teachers, many waies, many opinions and judgements, and many sects; but we have but one Priest, which is over the household of God, and therefore are all of one heart and soul.

Moved of the Lord, written from the Spirit of the Lord, for the cleansing of the Land of all false teachers, and seducers, and deceivers, and witches, who beguile the people, and inchanters, and diviners, and Sorcerers, and hirelings, and which is for the good of all people that fear the Lord, and own Jesus Christ to be their Teacher.

From them whom the world scornfully calls Quakers ; but quaking and trembling we own, else we should deny the Scriptures and the holy men of God ; but the Scriptures we own, and the holy men of God, therefore we deny all them who deny quaking.

If you say these things are frivolous things, which you have taught us, then we have been taught frivolous things all this while ; but we finde all these things frivolous things, winde, and air, and therefore we deny them.

All people that read these things, never come more at the Steeple-house, nor pay your Priest more Tythes, till they have answered them ; for if ye do, ye uphold them in their sins, and must partake of their plagues.

FINIS

London, Printed, and are to be sold by *Giles Calvert* at the signe of the Black Spread-Eagle at the West-end of Pauls, 1654.

KILLING NO MURDER

BRIEFLY DISCOURST
IN THREE QUESTIONS

BY WILLIAM ALLEN

EDWARD SEXBY

Died 1658

KILLING NO MURDER

[1657. Sexby is known to have been of Suffolk stock, and to have been in Cromwell's army by 1643. Rising to the rank of Colonel, he was entrusted with the conduct of negotiations in France, but revolted from his leader on the establishment of the Protectorate, maintaining that Cromwell's assumption of the rank of Lord Protector was inconsistent with strict republican principles. Sexby thereafter associated himself with all manner of frenzied schemes to assassinate Cromwell, caring little as to the politics, religion, or nationality of his fellow-conspirators, so long as they shared his hatred of the Protector. The disclosure of one particularly audacious plot led Sexby to seek a new weapon —the pamphleteer's pen. *Killing no Murder*, printed in Holland and brought secretly to England, was distributed up and down the country by Sexby himself, in disguise. On the title-page appeared the name of 'William Allen' as author, and some years later the pamphlet was reissued as by Colonel Titus, with a change of superscription such as enabled it to be directed against the French king. Sexby paid the penalty for his furious pursuit of violence, ending his days in the Tower, a man demented.]

TO HIS HIGHNESS

OLIVER CROMWEL.

May it please your Highness,

HOW I have spent some hours of the leisure your Highness hath bin pleased to give me, this following Paper will give your Highness an accompt. How you will please to interpret it, I cannot tell; but I can with confidence say, my intention in it is to procure your Highness that justice no body yet does you, and to let the people see the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you: To your Highnes justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot choose but be unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider, with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. 'Tis then onely (my Lord) the Titles you now usurp will be truly yours, you wil then be indeed the Deliverer of your Country, and free it from a Bondage little inferiour to that from which *Moyses* delivered his. You will then be that true Reformer, which you would be thought. Religion shall be then restored, Liberty asserted, and Parliaments have those priviledges they have fought for. We shall then hope that other Laws will have place besides those of the Sword, and that Justice shall be otherwise defin'd then the will and pleasure of the strongest, and we shall then hope men will keep Oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false, and perfidious to preserve themselves, and be

like their Rulers. All this we hope from your Highness happy expiration, who are the true Father of your Countrey; for while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your death that we hope for our Inheritances. Let this consideration arm and fortifie your Highnesses mind against the fears of death, and the terrours of your evil Conscience, that the good you will do by your death, will something ballance the evils of your life. And if in the black Catalogue of High Malefactor, few can be found that have lived more to the affliction and disturbance of Mankind, then your Highness hath done, yet your greatest Enemies will not deny but there are likewise as few that have expired more to the Universal benefit of Mankind, then your Highness is like to do. To hasten this great good, is the chiefe end of my writing this Paper; and if it have the effects, I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of mens malice and your Enemies will onely be able to wound you in your memory, which strokes you will not feel. That your Highness may be speedily in this security, is the universal wishes of your grateful Countrey. This is the desires and prayers of the good & of the bad, and it may be as the onely thing wherein all Sects and Factions do agree in their Devotions, and is our onely common prayer. But amongst all that put in their Requests and Supplications for your Highnesses speedy deliverances from all Earthly Troubles, none is more assiduous, nor more fervent then he, who with the rest of the Nation hath the honour to be

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness present Slave and Vassal,

W. A.

KILLING NO MURDER.

IT is not any Ambition to be in Print, when so few spare Paper and the Presse ; nor any instigations of private revenge or malice (though few that dare be honest now want their causes) that have prevailed with me to make my self the Authour of a Pamphlet, and to disturb that Quiet which at present I enjoy by his Highness great favour and injustice.[1] Nor am I ignorant to how little purpose I shall imploy that time and pains, which I shall bestow upon this Paper. For to think that any reasons or perswasions of mine, or conviction of their own, shall draw men from any thing wherein they see profit or security, or to any thing wherein they fear loss, or see danger, is to have a better opinion both of my self and them, then either of us both deserve.

Besides, the subject it self is of that nature, that I am not only to expect danger from ill men, but censure and disallowance from many that are good ; for these opinions only lookt upon, not lookt into, (which all have not eyes for) will appear bloody and cruel ; and these compellations I must expect from those that have a zeal, but not according to knowledge : If therefore I had considered my self, I had spared what ever this is of pains, and not distasted so many, to please so few, as are in mankind, (the honest and the wise.) But at such a time as this, when God is not onely exercising us with a usual and common calamity, of letting us fall into slavery

[1] Cato *said of* Pompey, *It was alike Treason in him to usurp the giving him his life, as to take it away.*

that used our liberty so ill; but is pleased so far to blind our understandings, and to debase our spirits, as to suffer us to court our bondage, and to place it among the requests we put up to him; Indignation makes a man break that silence that Prudence would perswade him to use; if not to work upon other mens minds, yet to ease his own.

A late Pamphlet tells us of a great design discovered against the person of his Highness, and of the Parliaments coming (for so does that *Junto* profane that name) to congratulate with his Highness, his happy deliverance from that wicked and bloody attempt. Besides this, that they have Ordered, that God Almighty shall be mockt with a day of thanksgiving, (as I think the World is with the Plot) and that the people shall give publique thanks for the publique calamity, that God is yet pleased to continue his Judgments upon them, and to frustrate all means that are used for their deliverance: Certainly, none will now deny, that the English are a very thankful people. But I think if we had read in Scripture, that the Israelites had cryed unto the Lord, not for their own deliverance, but the preservation of their Task-masters, and that they had thanked God with Solemnity that *Pharaoh* was yet living, and that there was still great hopes of the daily encrease of the number of their Bricks: Though that people did so many things not only impiously and profanely, but ridiculously and absurdly; yet certainly they did nothing we should more have wondered at, then to have found them Ceremoniously thankful to God for plagues, that were commonly so brutishly unthankful for mercies; And we should have thought that *Moses* had done them a great deal of wrong, if he had not suffered

them to enjoy their slavery, and left them to their Tasks and Garlick;

I can with Justice say, my principal intention in this Paper is not to declaim aginst my L. *Protectour* or his Accomplices; for were it not more to justifie others, then to accuse them, I should think their own actions did that work sufficiently, and I should not take pains to tell the world what they knew before. My design is, to examine whether if there hath been such a Plott as we hear of; and that it was contrived by Mr. *Sindercombe* against my *L. Protectour*, and not by my *L. Protectour* against Mr. *Sindercombe* (which is doubtful) whether it deserves those Epithites *Mr. Speaker* is pleased to give it, of bloody, wicked, and proceeding from the Prince of darkness. I know very well how uncapable the vulgar are, of considering what is extraordinary and singular in every case, and that they judge of things, and name them by their exteriour appearances, without penetrating at all into their causes or natures. And without doubt when they hear the *Protectour* was to be kill'd, they streight conclude a man was to be murdered, not a malefactour punished: for they think the formalities do alwayes make the things themselves, and that 'tis the Judge and the Cryer that makes the Justice, and the Gaol the Criminal: And therefore when they read in the Pamphlet Mr. *Speaker*'s Speech, they certainly think he gives these Plotters their right titles; and, as readily as a High-Court of Justice, they condemn them, without ever examining whether they would have killed a Magistrate, or destroyed a Tyrant,[1]

[1] *See* Plutarch: *the Life of* Timolion, *cited in the Continuation of this Session of Parliament justified, lately printed.*

over whom every man is naturally a Judge and an Executioner; and whom the Laws of God, of Nature, and of Nations expose, like Beasts of prey, to be destroyed as they are met.

That I may be as plain as I can, I shall first make it a Question, (which indeed is none) Whether my *Lord Protectour* be a Tyrant or not? Secondly, if he be, Whether it is lawful to do Justice upon him without Solemnity, *that is*, to Kill him. Thirdly, if it be lawful, Whether it is like to prove profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth?

The Civil Law makes Tyrants of two sorts, *Tyrannus sine Titulo*, and *Tyrannus Exercitio*. The one is called a Tyrant, because he hath no right to govern; the other, because he governs Tyrannically. We will very briefly discourse of them both, and see whether the *Protectour* may not with great Justice put in his Claim to both Titles.

We shall sufficiently demonstrate who they are that have not a right to govern, if we shew who they are that have; and what it is that makes the power just, which those that rule have over the natural liberty of other men. To Fathers within their private Families nature hath given a Supreme power. Every man, sayes *Aristotle*,[1] of Right governs his wife and children, and this power was necessarily exercised[2] every where, whilest Families lived disperst,[3] before the constitutions of Commonwealths; and in many places it continued after, as appears by the Laws of *Solon*, and the most Ancient of those of *Rome*. And indeed as by the Laws of God[4] and nature, the care, defence, and support of the family lies upon every man whose

[1] *Pol. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

[2] *Gen.* 44. 24.

[3] *Arist. ibid.*

[4] 1 *Tim.* 5. 8.

it is ; so by the same Law there is due unto every man from his Family a subjection and obedience, in compensation of that support. But several Families uniting themselves together to make up one body of a Comon-wealth, and being Independent one of another, without any natural Superiority or Obligation, nothing can introduce amongst them a disparitie of Rule and subjection, but some power that is over them ; which power none can pretend to have but God and themselves. Wherefore all power which is lawfully exercised over such a Society of men, (which from the end of its institution we call a Common-wealth) must necessarily be derived either from the appointment of God Almighty, who is Supream Lord of all and every part ; or from the consent of the Society it self, who have the next power to his, of disposing of their own liberty, as they shall think fit for their own good.[1] This power God hath given to Societies of men, as well as he gave it to particular[2] persons ; and when he interposes not his own authority and appoints not himself who shall be his Vice-gerents and rule under him ; he leaves it to none but the people themselves to make the election, whose benefit is the end of all government. Nay, when he himself hath been pleased to appoint rulers for that people, which he was pleased peculiarly to own, He many times made the choice, but left the Confirmation and Ratification of that choice to the people themselves. So *Saul*[3] was chosen by God, and anointed King by his Prophet, but made King by all the people at *Gilgal*.[4] *David* was anointed King[5] by the same

[1] *Vid. Hooker. Eccles. Pol. lib.* 1. *c.* 10.
[2] *Ex.* 21. 5.
[3] 1 *Sam.* 10. 2.
[4] 1 *Sam.* 12. 2.
[5] 1 *Sam.* 16. 14.

Prophet, but was afterwards, after *Saul's* death, confirmed by the people of *Juda*,[1] and 7. years after by the Elders of *Israel*,[2] the Peoples Deputies, at *Chebron*. And it is observable, that though they knew that *David* was appointed King by God, and anointed by his Prophet, yet they likewise knew that God allowed to themselves not only his confirmation, but likewise the limitation of his power; for before his Inauguration, they made a league[3] with him; that is, obliged him by compact to the performance of such conditions as they thought necessary for the securing their Liberty. Nor is it less remarkable, that when God gives directions to his people concerning their government, he plainly leaves the Form to themselves: for he sayes not, When thou shalt have come into the Land which the Lord thy God gives thee, *Statues super te Regem*; But, *Si*[4] *Dixeris statuam.* God sayes not, Thou shalt appoint a King over thee; But if thou shalt say, I will appoint; leaving it to their choice, whether they would say so or no. And it is plain in that place, that God gives the people the choice of their King, for he there instructs them whom they shall choose, *E medio fratrum tuorum*, one out of the midst of thy brethren: Much more might we say, if it were less manifest Truth, that all just power of Government is founded upon those two bases, of Gods immediate command, or the Peoples consent. And therefore whosoever arrogates to himself that power, or any part of it, that cannot produce one of those two titles, is not a Ruler, but an Invader, and those that are subject to that power, are not governed, but opprest.

[1] 2 *Sam.* 2. 4.
[2] *Sam.* 5. 3.
[3] 2 *Sam.* 5. 3.
[4] *Deut.* 17. 14.

This being considered, have not the People of *England* much reason to ask the Protector this Question, *Quis constituit te virum Principem & judicem super nos?* Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us? If God made thee, make it manifest to us. If the People; where did we meet to do it? Who took our Subscriptions? To whom deputed we our authority? And when and where did those Deputies make the choice? Sure these Interrogations are very natural, and I believe would much trouble his Highness his Council, and his *Junto* to answer. In a word, that I may not tire my reader, (who will not want proofs for what I say, if he wants not memory) If to change the Government without the Peoples consent: If to dissolve their Representatives by force, and disannull their Acts: If to give the name of the Peoples Representatives to confederates of his own, that he may establish iniquity by a Law: If to take away mens lives out of all course of Law, by certain Murtherers of his own appointment, whom he names *A High-Court of Justice.* If to decimate mens Estates, and by his own power to impose upon the People what Taxes he pleases: And to maintain all by force of Arms: If I say all this does make a Tyrant, his own impudence cannot deny, but he is as compleat a one as ever hath been, since there have been Societies of Men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the person for whose preservation the people of *England* must pray; but certainly if they do, 'tis for the same Reason that the old Woman of *Syracuse* prayd for the long life of the Tyrant *Dionysius*, lest the Devil should come next.

Now if instead of Gods Command, or the Peoples Consent, his Highness hath no other Title but force

and fraud, which is to want all Title: And if to violate all Laws, and propose none to Rule by, but those of his own will, Be to exercise that Tyranny he hath usurpt, and to make his Administration conformable to his claym: Then the first Question we proposed, is a Question no longer.

But before we come to the second, being things are more Easily perceived and found by the description of their *Exteriour Accidents, and Qualities*, then the defining their Essences: It will not be Amiss to see, whether his Highness hath not as well the outward Marks and Characters by which Tyrants are known, as he hath their *Nature and Essential* properties: Whether he hath not the Skin of the Lyon, and Tayl of the Fox, as well as he hath the Violence of the one, and Deceipt of the other. Now in this Delineation which I intend to make of a Tyrant, all the Lineaments, all the Colours, will be found so Naturally to correspond with the life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether his Highness be the Original, or the Copy. Whether I have in drawing the Tyrant, represented him? or in Representing him, Exprest a Tyrant. And therefore lest I should be suspected to deal un-sincerely with his Highness, and not to have Applyed *These* following Characters, but made them, I shall not give you any of my own Stamping, but such as I find in *Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus*, and his Highness own *Evangelist, Machiavell.*

The marks of a Tyrant.

1. Almost all Tyrants have been first Captains and Generals for the People; under pretences of vindicating, or defending their Liberties.[1] *Ut Imperium evertant Libertatem præferunt; cum perverterunt, ipsam aggre-*

[1] *Arist. Pol. lib.* 5. *c.* 10. *vid. Mach. Discor. l.* 1. *c.* 40.

diuntur, sayes *Tacitus*;[1] to subvert the present Government, they pretend Liberty for the People; when the Government is down, they then Invade that Liberty themselves: this needs no Application.

2. Tyrants accomplish their ends much more by fraud than force. Neither vertue nor force (sayes Machiavel)[2] are so necessary to that purpose, as *una Astutia fortunata*, a Lucky craft: which sayes he,[3] without force hath been often found sufficient, but never force without that. And in another place[4] he tells us their way is *Aggirare Li cervelli de gli huomini con Astutia, &c.* With cunning plausible pretences to impose upon mens understandings, and in the end they master those that had so little wit as to rely upon their faith and integrity. 'Tis but unnecessary to say, That had not his Highness had a faculty to be fluent in his tears, and eloquent in his execrations: Had he not had spungy eyes, and a supple conscience; and besides to do with a people of great faith, but little wit; his courage and the rest of his Moral vertues, with the help of his Janizaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of Justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him, but that of the Hangman.

3. They abase all excellent persons, and rid out of the way all that have noble minds, *Et Terræ filios extollunt*; and advance Sons of the Earth. To put *Aristotle*[5] into other words, they purge both Parlia-

[1] *An. lib.* 16. *Idem alibi. Cæterum libertas & Speciosa nomina prætexuntur, nec quisquam alienum servitium, & Dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.*

[2] *Il. princ. c.* 9.

[3] *Disc. l.* 2. *c.* 13.

[4] *Prin. c.* 18.

[5] *Arist. Pol. l.* 5. *c.* 11.

ment and Army, till they leave few or none there, that have either honour or conscience, either wit, *Interest,* or Courage to oppose their designs. And in these Purgations (saith *Plato*) [1] Tyrants do quite contrary to Physitians; for they purge us of our humours, but Tyrants of our Spirits.

4. They dare suffer no Assemblies. Not so much as Horse-races.

5. In all places they have their Spies and Dilators, that is, they have their *Broughalls,* their *St. John's* (besides innumerable small spyes) to appear discontented and not to side with them; that under that disguise they may get trust, and make discoveries. They likewise have their Emissaries to send with forged letters. If any doubt this, let him send to Major General *Brown,* and he will Satisfie Him.

6. They Stir not without a guard, nor his Highness without his Life-guard.

7. They impoverish the people, that they may want the power, if they have the will, to attempt any thing against them.[2] His Highness way is by Taxes, Excise, Decimations, &c.[3]

8. They make war to divert and busie the people: [4] And besides, to have a pretence to raise moneys, and to make new Levies,[5] if they either distrust their old forces, or think them not sufficient.[6] The war with *Spain* serveth his Highness to this purpose, and upon no other Justice was it began at first, or is still continued.

9. They will seem to honour and provide for good men: That is, if the Ministers will be Orthodox and

[1] *Plato de Repub. l.* 8. *Ibid.* [2] *Arist. Ibid.*
[3] *Arist. Ibid.* [4] *Id. Ibid. & Plato de Repub. l.* 9.
[5] *Id. Ibid.* [6] *Arist. Ibid.*

flatter: If they will wrest and torture the Scripture to prove his Government lawful, and furnish him with Title: his Highness will likewise be then content to understand Scripture in their favour, and furnish them with Tithes.[1]

10. *Things that are odious and distastfull, they* make others executioners of; and when the people are discontented, they appease them with Sacrificing those Ministers they imploy: I leave it to his Highness his Major Generals to ruminate a little upon this point.

11. In all things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the Publique: to give general accompts of the money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the maintenance of the State, and the prosecuting of the War. His Highness made an excellent Comment upon this place of *Aristotle* in his Speech to this Parliament.

12. All things set aside for Religious uses, they set to sale; that while those things last, they may exact the less of the people. The Cavaliers would interpret this of the Dean and Chapters Lands.

13. They pretend inspirations from God, and responses from Oracles to Authorise what they do,[2] his Highness hath been ever an Enthusiast. And as *Hugh Capet*, in taking the Crown, pretended to be admonisht to it in a dream by St. *Vallery*, and St. *Richard*: so I believe will his Highness do the same, at the instigation of St. *Henry*, and St. *Richard* his two Sons.

[1] *Machiav. Pr. cap.* 19. Machiavel *adds, And do grateful things themselves. But that I omit; for I really am unprovided of an instance for his Highness, for I have not yet heard of any good he hath done himself.*

[2] *Plato de Repub. lib. 8. Id. & Plut. passim.*

14. Lastly, Above all things they pretend a love to God and Religion.[1] This *Aristotle* calls *Artium Tyrannicarum potissimam*; the surest and best of all the Arts of Tyrants, and we all know his Highness hath found it so by experience. He hath found indeed that in godliness there is great gain; and that preaching and praying, well managed, will obtain other Kingdoms as well as that of Heaven. His indeed have been pious Arms, for he hath conquered most by those of the Church, by prayers, and tears.[2] But the truth is, were it not for our honour to be governed by one that can manage both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword, and Roman like, to have our Emperor our High Priest: We might have had preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our Tythes, which now costs us all.

Other Marks and Rules there are mentioned by *Aristotle* to know Tyrants by: but they being unsuitable to his Highness Actions, and impracticable by his Temper, I insist not on them. As among other things[3] *Aristotle* would not have a Tyrant insolent in his behaviour, nor strike people. But his Highness is naturally chollerique, and must call men Rogues, and go to Cuffs. At last he concludes he should so fashion his manners, as neither to be really good, nor absolutely bad, but half one, half tother. Now this half good is too great a proportion for his Highness, and much more then his temper will bear.

But to speak Truths more seriously, and to conclude this first Question. Certainly what ever these Characters make any man, it cannot be denied but

[1] *Histor. of Fran. Ibid. lib.* 5. *c.* 11.
[2] *Preces & Lacrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ.*
[3] *Pol. lib.* 5. *c.* 11.

his Highness is ; and then if he be not a Tyrant, we must confess we have no definition nor description of a Tyrant left us ; and may well imagine there is no such thing in Nature, and that 'tis onely a Notion and a Name. But if there be such a Beast, and we do at all believe what we see and feel ; let us now enquire, according to the method we proposed, whether this be a Beast of Game that we are to give law to, or a Beast of Prey to destroy with all means are allowable and fair ?

Whether it be lawful to kill a Tyrant?

In deciding this Question Authors very much differ, as far as it concerns Supream Magistrates, who degenerate into Tyrants. Some think they are to be born with as bad Parents ;[1] and place them in the number of those mischiefs[2] that have no other Cure but our Patience. Others think they may be questioned by that supream Law of the peoples safety ; and that they are answerable to the Peoples Representatives for the breach of their Trust. But none, of sober sense, makes private persons Judges of their actions ; which were, indeed, to subvert all Government. But on the other side, I find none (that have not been frighted or corrupted out of their reason) that have been so great Enemies to Common Justice, and the Libertie of Mankind ; as to give any kind of Indemnity to a Usurper, who can pretend no Title, but that of being stronger ; nor challenge the peoples obedience upon any other obligation but that of their necessity, and fear. Such a person, as one out of all bonds of Humane Protection, all men make the *Ishmael*,[3] against

[1] *Ames Parentem si æquus est, si non, feras.*
[2] *Sicut sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres &c.* Tacit.
[3] Gen. 16. 12.

whom is every mans hand, as his is against every man. To him they give no more security then *Cain*, his fellow murtherer and oppressour, promised to himself, to be destroyed by him that found him first.

The reason why a Tyrants case is particular, and why in that every man hath that vengeance given him, which in other cases is reserved to God and the Magistrate, cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a Tyrant is, what his crimes are, and in what state he stands with the Common-wealth, and with every member of it. And certainly if we find him an enemy to all Humane Society, and a subverter of all Laws, and one that by the greatness of his villanies, secures himself against all ordinary course of Justice: we shall not at all think it strange, if then he have no benefit from humane society, no protection from the law, and if, in his case, Justice dispenses with her forms. We are therefore to consider that the end for which men enter into society, is not barely to live, which they may do disperst, as other Animals: but to live happily; and a Life answerable to the dignity and excellency of their kind. Out of Society, this happiness is not to be had, for singly we are impotent, and defective, unable to procure those things that are either of necessity, or Ornament for our lives, and as unable to defend and keep them when they are acquired. To remedy these defects, we Associate together that what we can neither joy nor keep, singly, by mutual benefits and assistances one of another, We may be able to do both. We cannot possibly accomplish these ends, if we submit not our passions and appetites to the Laws of Reason and Justice. For the depravity of mans will makes him as unfit to live in Society, as his necessity makes

him unable to live out of it. And if that perversness be not regulated by Laws, mens appetites to the same things ; their Avarice, their Lust, their Ambition would quickly make Society as unsafe, or more, then Solitude it self, and we should associate onely to be nearer our misery and our ruine. That therefore by which we accomplish the ends of a Sociable life, is our subjection, and submission to Laws, these are the Nerves and Sinews of every Society or Common-Wealth ; Without which they must necessarily dissolve and fall asunder. And indeed (as *Augustine* says)[1] those Societies where Law and Justice is not, are not Common-wealths or Kingdoms, but *Magna Latrocinia*, Great Confederacies of Thieves and Robbers. Those therefore that submit to no Law, are not to be reputed in the Society of Mankind, which cannot consist without a Law. Therefore *Aristotle*)[2] saith, Tyranny is against the Law of Nature, that is, the Law of Humane Society, in which Humane Nature is preserved. For this reason they deny a Tyrant to be *Partem Civitatis* ; for every part is subject to the whole ; and a Citizen (says the same Author)[3] is he who is as well obliged to the duty of obeying, as he is capable of the power of commanding. And indeed he does obey, whilest he does command, that is, he obeys the Laws, which (says *Tully*) *Magistratibus præsunt, ut Magistratus præsunt Populo*, are above the Magistrates, as the Magistrates are above the People. And therefore a Tyrant that submits to no law ; but his Will and Lust are the law, by which he governs himself & others, is no Magistrate, no Citizen or member of any Society, but an Ulcer and a Disease

[1] *De Civit. Dei.* [2] *Pol. lib.* 3. *c.* 12.
[3] *Lib.* 5. *c.* 8.

that destroys it; and if it be rightly considered, a Common wealth by falling into a Tyrannie absolutely looses that name, and is actually another thing: *Non est civitas quæ unius est viri* (saith *Sophocles*) that which is one mans, is no City. For there is no longer King and People, or Parlament and People, but those Names are changed (at least their Natures) into Masters and Servants, Lords and Slaves: And *Servorum non Civitas erit sed magna Familia* (says *Grotius*)[1] where all are Slaves, 'tis not a City, but a great Family. And the truth is, we are all members of *White-hall*, and when our Master pleaseth, he may send for us thither, and there bore through our Ears at the door-posts. But to conclude, a Tyrant, as we have said, being no part of a Common-wealth, nor submitting to the laws of it, but making himself above all law; there is no reason he should have the protection that is due to a member of a Common-wealth, nor any defence from laws, that does acknowledge none. He is therefore in all reason to be reckoned in the number of those savage Beasts, that fall not with others into any Heard: that have no other defence but their own strength, making a prey of all thats weaker; and, by the same Justice, being a prey to all thats stronger then themselves.

In the next place, let it be considered, That a Tyrant making himself above all Law, and defending his injustice by a strength which no power of Magistrates is able to oppose; he becomes above all punishment, above all other justice, than that he receives from the stroak of some generous hand. And certainly, the safety of mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no kind of Justice to

[1] *De fur. bel. l.* 3. *c.* 8.

reach great villanies, but Tyrants should be *Immanitate Scelerum tuti*, secured by the greatness of their crimes. Our Laws would be then but Cobwebs indeed, made only to catch Flies ; but not to hold Wasps or Hornets : And it might be then said of all Common-wealths, what was said of *Athens* ; That there onely small Theeves were hanged, but the great ones were free, & condemned the rest. But he that will secure himself of all hands, must know, he secures himself from none : He that flies Justice in the Court, must expect to find it in the street : and he that goes armed against every man, arms every man against himself.[1] *Bellum est in eos, Qui judiciis coerceri non possunt*, (says *Cicero*) We have war with those against whom we can have no law. The same Authour, *Cum duo sint decertandi genera, &c.* There being two ways of deciding differences, the one by Judgement & Arbitration ; the other by force : the one proper to men, the other to beasts.[2] We must have recourse to the latter, when the former cannot be obtained. And certainly by the Law of Nature, *ubi cessat Judicium*, when no Justice can be had, every man may be his own Magistrate, and do justice for himself. For the Law (says *Grotius*) that forbids me to pursue my right but by a course of Law : Certainly supposes, *ubi copia est Judicii*, where Law and Justice is to be had : [3] otherwise that law were a defence for injuries, not one against them : and quite contrary to the nature of all Laws, would become the protection of the guilty against the innocent, not of the innocent against the guilty. Now as it is contrary to the Laws of God & Nature, that men, who are partial to them-

[1] Grot. *de ju. Bel. l.* 1. *c.* 8. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Deu. 17.

selves, & therefore unjust to others, should be their own Judges, where others are to be had; so it is contrary to the Law of Nature, and the common safety of mankind, that when the Law can have no place, men should be forbidden to repel force by force, and so to be left without all defence and remedy against injuries. God himself left not the slave without remedy against the cruel Master: And what Analogie can it hold with reason, that the slave that is but his Masters money; and but part of his Houshold-stuff, should finde redress against the Injuries and Insolencies of an Imperious Master? and a free people, who have no Superiour but their God, should have none at all against the injustice and oppression of a Barbarous Tyrant? And were not the incongruity fully as great, that the Law of God permitting every man to kill a Thief, if he took him breaking open his house in the night: because then it might be supposed he could not bring him to justice? But a Tyrant, that is the common Robber of mankind, and whom no Law can take hold on, his person should be, *Sacrosancta, cui nihil Sacrum aut Sanctum*, to whom nothing is Sacred, nothing Inviolable? But the Vulgar judge ridiculously like themselves. The glister of things dazles their Eyes, and they judge of them by their appearances; and the Colours that are put on them. For what can be more absurd in Nature, and contrary to all common sence, then to call him Thief and kill him,[1] that comes alone, or with a few to Rob me: And to call him Lord Protector and obey him, that robs me with Regiments and Troops? As if to rove with two or three ships were to be a Pirate, but with 50 an Admiral? But if it be the number

[1] Exod. 22.

of Adherents onely, not the cause, that makes the difference between a Robber and a Protectour: I wish that number were defined, that we might know where the Thief ends, and the Prince begins. And be able to distinguish between a Robbery and a Tax. But sure no English-man can be ignorant, that it his Birth-right to be Master of his own Estate; and that none can command any part of it but by his own grant and consent, either made expresly by himself, or Virtually by a Parliament. All other ways are meer Robberies in other Names: [1] *Auferre, Trucidare, Rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem apellant*: To rob, to extort, to murder Tyrants falsly cal'd to govern, and to make desolation, they call to settle peace: in every Asseasment we are rob'd, the Excize is Robbery, the Custom's Robbery, and without doubt, when ever 'tis prudent, 'tis always lawful to kill the Thieves, whom we can bring to no other justice.[2] And not onely lawful, and to do our selves right, but Glorious, and to deserve of mankind, to free the world of that common Robber, that universal Pirat, under whom, and for whom, these lesser Beasts prey. This Firebrand I would have any way extinguisht. This Ulcer I would have any hand to lance. And I cannot doubt but God will suddenly sanctifie some hand to do it, and bring down that bloudy and deceitful man, who lives not onely to the misery, but the infamy of our Nation.

I should have reason to be much less confident of the justice of this opinion, if it were new, and onely grounded upon Collections and Interpretations of my own. But herein if I am deceived, I shall however have the excuse to have been drawn into that

[1] Exod. 22. 2. [2] Tacit. *in Vid.* Agric.

errour, by the examples that are left us by the greatest and most vertuous, and the opinions of the wisest and gravest men, that have left their memories to posterity. Out of the great plenty of Confirmations, I could bring for this Opinion, from Examples and Authorities; I shall select a very few: for manifest Truths have not need of those Supports; and I have as little minde to tire my self as my Reader.

First therefore an Usurper that by onely force possesseth himself of Government, and by Force only keeps it, is yet in the State of War with every man, says the learned *Grotius*:[1] and therefore every thing is lawful against him, that is lawful against an open Enemy, whom every private man hath a right to kill. *Hostis hostem occidere volui*, says *Scævola* to *Porsena*; when he was taken, after he had failed in his attempt to kill him;[2] I am an Enemy, and an Enemy I would have kil'd, which every man hath a right to do.

Contra publicos hostes, & Majestatis Reos, omnis homo miles est (says *Tertullian*,) Against Common Enemies and those that are Traitors to the Commonwealth, every man is a Souldier. This opinion the most Celebrated Nations have approved both by their Laws and Practises. The Grecian (as *Xenophon* tells us) who suffered not Murderers to come into their Temples, in those very Temples they erected Statues to those that kil'd Tyrants, thinking it fit to place their Deliverers amongst their Gods. *Cicero* was an Eye-witness of the Honours that were done such men, *Græci homines*, &c. The *Greeks* (saith he)[3] attribute the honours of the Gods to those that

[1] *de in Bel. lib.* 1. *c.* 4. [2] Luc. *lib.* 2.
[3] *Pro Milone.*

kil'd Tyrants: What have I seen in *Athens*, and other Cities of *Greece*! What Religion paid to such men! What Songs! What Elogies! By which they are Consecrated to Immortality, and almost Deified! In *Athens*, by *Solon*'s Law,[1] Death was not onely decree'd for the Tyrant that opprest the State, but for all those that took any Charge,[2] or did bear any Office while the Tyranny remained. And *Plato*[3] tells us the ordinary Course they took with Tyrants in *Greece*. If (says he) the Tyrant cannot be expuls'd by Accusing him to the Citizens; then by secret practises they dispatch him.

Amongst the *Romans* the *Valerian* Law was, *Si quis injussu populi, &c.*[4] Whosoever took Magistracy upon him, without the Command of the people, it was lawful for any man to kill him. *Plutarch* makes this Law more Severe, *ut Injudicatum occidere eum liceret, Qui Dominatum concupisceret.* That it was lawful by that Law, before any Judgement past, to kill him that but Aspired to Tyranny. Likewise the Consular Law which was made after the suppression of the Tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any man that went about to create Magistrates, *sine provocatione,* &c. Without reference and appeal to the people. By these Laws and innumerable Testimonies of Authors, it appears; that the *Romans* with the rest of their Philosophy, had learned from the *Grecians* what was the Natural Remedy against a Tyrant: Nor did they honor those less that durst apply it. Who as *Polybius*[5] says (speaking of Conspiracies against Tyrants) were not, *Deterrimi*

[1] Plut. *in* Solon.
[2] Let his Highness Junto marke this.
[3] *De Repub. lib.* 8.
[4] *In Publici.*
[5] *Hist. lib.* 6.

civium, sed Generosissimi Quique, & Maximi Animi; not the worst and meanest of the Citizens, but the most Generous, and those of greatest vertue. So were most of those that conspired against *Julius Cæsar*. He himself thought *Brutus* worthy to succeed him in the Empire of the World: And *Cicero*, who had the Title of *Pater Patriæ*, if he were not conscious of the design; Yet he at least affected the honour of being thought so. *Quæ enim Res unquam*, &c. What act (says he) O *Jupiter* more glorious! more worthy of Eternal Memory, hath been done not onely in this City, but in the whole world![1] In this design, as the *Trojan* Horse, I willingly suffer my self to be included with the Princes. In the same place he tells us, what all vertuous *Romans* thought of the Fact aswel as he. *Omnes Boni, Quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt; aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, Voluntas nemini*; All good men (saith he) as much as in them lay killed *Cæsar*: Some wanted Capacity, some Courage, others opportunity; but none the will to do it. But yet we have not declared the extent of their severity against a Tyrant. They exposed him to Fraud, as well as Force, and left him no security in Oaths and Compacts; that neither Law nor Religion might defend him, that violated both. *Cum Tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla juris jurandi Religio*, saith *Brutus* in *Appian*:[2] With a Tyrant the *Romans* think no Faith to be kept, observe no Religion of an Oath. *Seneca*[3] gives the Reason; *Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohæreret*, &c. For what ever there was of mutual obligation betwixt us; his destroying the Laws of Humane Society, hath dissolv'd: so

[1] Phil. 2. [2] Appian. *lib.* 7.
[3] *de Benef.*

these that thought that there was in *hostem nefas*,[1] that a villany might be committed against an Enemy: These that profest, *non minus justè quàm fortiter arma gerere*,[2] to manage their Arms with Justice as well as Courage: These that thought Faith was to be kept even with the perfidious,[3] yet they thought a Tyrant could receive no Injustice, but to be let live; and that the most lawful way to destroy him, was the readiest. No matter whether by force or fraud; for against Beasts of Prey, men use the Toyl and the Net, as well as the Spear and the Lance. But so great was their detestation of a Tyrant, that it made some take their Opinions from their Passions; and vent things which they could but ill justifie to their Morality, they thought a Tyrant had so absolutely forfeited all Title to Humanity, and all kind of Protection they could give him or his: that they left his wife without any other Guard for her Chastity, but Age and Deformity; and thought it not Adultery what was committed with her. Many more Testimonies might I bring; for 'tis harder to make choice, than to find plenty. But I shall conclude with Authorities that are much more Authentique; and Examples, which we may much more safely imitate.

The Law of God it self decreed certain[4] death to that man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no Decision of Justice. Who can reade this, and think a Tyrant ought to live? But certainly neither that, nor any other Law were to

[1] *Sin.*
[2] *Id.*
[3] Saul *of Regulus Qui longum semper fama &c.* Sence. *in exerc.* 4. 7. *Mic. Ephes. ad* 5. *Nich.*
[4] *Utique morietur vir ille*: Deut. 17. 12.

any effect, if there were no way to put it in execution. But in a Tyrants Case, Process and Citation have no place; and if we will onely have Formal Remedies against him, we are sure to have none. There's small hope of Justice, where the Malefactor hath a power to condemn the Judge.

All remedy therefore against a Tyrant is *Ehud*'s Dagger; without which, all our Laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that High Court of Justice where *Moses* brought the *Egyptian*: whither *Ehud* brought *Eglon*; *Samson*, the *Philistins*; *Samuel*, *Agag*; and *Jehojada*, the She-Tyrant *Athaliah*.

Let us a little consider in particular these several Examples, and see whether they may be proportioned to our purpose.

First as to the Case of *Moses* and the *Egyptian*;[1] certainly every *English*-man hath as much Call as *Moses*, and more cause then he, to slay this *Egyptian* that is always laying on burdens, and always smiting both our brethren and our selves. For as to his Call, he had no other that we read of, but the necessity his brother stood in of his help. He look't on his brethrens burdens, and seeing an *Egyptian* smiting an *Hebrew*, knowing he was out of the reach of all other kind of Justice, he slew him.

Certainly this was, and is as lawful for any man to do as it was for *Moses*, who was then but a private man, and had no Authority for what he did, but what the Law of Nature gives every man; to oppose Force to Force, and to make Justice where he finds none. As to the Cause of that action, we have much more to say then *Moses* had; He saw one *Hebrew* smitten, we many *English* men murdered; He saw his brethrens burdens, and their blows, We, our

[1] Exod. 2. 11, 12.

Brethrens burdens, imprisonments, and deaths. Now sure if it were lawful for *Moses* to kill that *Egyptian* that opprest one man, being there was no way to procure an ordinary course of Justice against him: It cannot be but absurd to think it unlawful to kill him [1] that oppresses a whole Nation, and one that Justice as little reaches as it defends.

The example of *Ehud* shews us the natural and almost the onely remedy against a Tyrant, and the way to free an opprest people from the slavery of an insulting *Moabite*, 'tis done by prayers and tears, with the help of a Dagger, by [2] crying to the Lord, and the left hand of an *Ehud*. Devotion and action go well together; for believe it, a Tyrant is not of that kind of Devil that is to be cast out by onely Fasting and Prayer. And here the Scripture[3] shows us what the Lord thought a fit Message to send a Tyrant from himself: A Dagger of a Cubit in his belly, and every worthy man that desires to be an *Ehud*,[4] a Deliverer of his Countrey, will strive to be the Messenger.[5]

We may here likewise observe in this, and many places of *Judges*, that when the *Israelites* fell to Idolatry, which of all sins certainly is one of the greatest; God Almighty to proportion the punishment and the offence, still delivered them into the hands of Tyrants; which sure is one of the greatest of all Plagues.

In the story of *Samson* [6] 'tis manifest, that the denying him his wife, and after the burning her, and her Father, which though they were great, yet were

[1] *Vid. Et. Governador Christiano. c.* 8. *p.* 40.
[2] *Qualquiera ciudad no me de repeter la fuerça, &c.*
[3] Judg. *c.* 3. v. 11, 19, 20.
[4] V. 15. [5] V. 20. [6] Judg. 15.

but private injuries, he took for sufficient grounds to make war upon the *Philistins,* being himself but a private man, and not onely not assisted, but opposed by his servile Countreymen.[1] He knew what the Law of Nature allowed him ; where other Laws have no place, and thought it a sufficient Justification for smiting the *Philistins* hip and thigh, to answer for himself, that as they did unto him, so had he done unto them.

Now that which was lawful for *Samson* to do against many Oppressours, why is it unlawful for us to do against one ? Are our injuries less ? Our Friends and Relations are daily murdered before our faces. Have we other ways for reparation ? Let them be named, and I am silenc'd. But if we have none, the Fire-brands, or the Jaw-bone, the first Weapons our just Fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employed against that uncircumcised *Philistin* that oppresses us. We have too the opposition and discouragements that *Samson* had, and therefore have the more need of his courage and resolution. As he had the men of *Judah,*[2] so we have the men of *Levi*, crying to us out of the Pulpit, as from the top of the Rock *Etam*, Know you not that the Philistin is a Ruler over you ? The truth is, they would fain make him so, and bind us with *Samson* in new Cords ; but we hope they will become as Flax, and that they will either loose from our hands, or we shall have the Courage to cut them.

Upon the same grounds of Retaliation did *Samuel* do justice with his own hand upon the Tyrant *Agag*. As thy Sword (says the Prophet)[3] hath made women childless, so shall thy Mother be childless amongst

[1] V. 11. [2] V. 14.

[3] 1 Sam. 15. 33.

women ; nor is there any Law more natural and more just.

How many Mothers has our *Agag*, for his own ambition, made childless ? how many Children Fatherless ? how many have this reason to hew this *Amalakite* in pieces before the Lord ? And let his own Relations, and all theirs that are Confederates with him, beware, lest men come at last to revenge their own Relations in them. They make many a woman husbandless, many a Father childless. Their wives may come at last to know what 'tis to want a husband, and themselves to lose their children. Let them remember, what their great Apostle Machiavel [1] tels them ; that in contestations for the preserving their Liberty, People many times use moderation ; but when they come to vindicate it, their rigour exceeds all mean, like beasts that have bin kept up & are afterwards let loose, they always are more fierce and cruel. To conclude with the example *Jehojada* hath left us ; 6 years he hid the right Heir of the Crown in the house of the Lord; & without all doubt, amongst the rest of Gods services there he was all that time contriving the destruction of the Tyrant, that had aspired to the Crown by the destruction of those that had the right to it. *Jehojada* had no pretence to authorize this action, but the Equity and Justice of the act it self. He pretended no immediate command from God for what he did, nor any authority from the Sanedrin, and therefore any man might have done what *Jehojada* did as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually. Now what citation was given to *Athaliah*,[2] what appearance was she cal'd to before any Court of Justice : her fact was her trial she was

[1] *In Discors.* [2] 2 King. 11. 2 Chron. 23.

without any expostulation taken forth of the Ranges, and onely let live, till she got out of the Temple, that that Holy Place might not be defiled by the bloud of a Tyrant, which was fitter to be shed on a dung-hill, and so they slew her at the Horse-gate.[1] And by the Kings house, the very White-hall; where she had caused the Blood-Royal to be spilt, and which her self had so long unjustly possest, there by Providence did she receive her punishment, where she had acted so great a part of her crimes. How the people approved of this glorious action of destroying a Tyrant, this Chapter tells us at the last v. And all the people of the Land rejoyced, and the City was quiet, after they had slain *Athaliah* with the sword. And that it may appear they no less honoured the Authors of such actions, then other Nations did ; as in his life-time they obeyed *Jehoiada* as a King,[2] so after his death, for the good he had done in *Israel* (saith the Scripture) they buried him amongst the Kings.[3]

I must not conclude this story without observing that *Jehojada* commanded, that whosoever followed *Athaliah* should be put to death. Letting us see what they deserve that are Confederates with Tyrants and will side with them, and but appear to defend them, or allow them, his Highness his Councel, his Junto, and the Agaes of his Janizaries, may, if they please, take notice of this, and repent, least they likewise perish.[4] And likewise his Highness his Chaplains, and Tryers, who are to admit none into the Ministry that will preach liberty with the Gospel;

[1] 2 Chron. 23. 14. [2] 2 *Chron*. 23. 14.
[3] 2 *Chron*. 24. 16.
[4] *Mr.* Sindercomb's *Judge and Jury may likewise consider of this point.*

may, if they think fit, observe, that with the Tyrant fell *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. And indeed none but *Baals*-Priests will preach for Tyrants. And certainly those Priests that Sacrifice to our Baal, our Idol of a Magistrate, deserves as well to be hang'd before their Pulpits, as ever *Mattan* did to fall before his Altars.[1]

I should think now I had said much more then enough to the second question, and should come to the third and last I proposed in my Method; but I meet with two Objections lying in my way: The first is, That these examples out of Scripture, are of men that were Inspired of God, and that therefore they had that Call and Authority for their Actions, which we cannot pretend to, so that it would be unsafe for us to draw their actions into examples, except we had likewise their Justifications to alledg. *Object.* 1.

The other Objection is, that there being now no opposition made to the Government of his Highness, that the people following their callings, and trafficque, at home and abroad, making use of the laws, & appealing to his Highnes courts of justice: That all this argues the peoples tacit consent to the Government; and that therefore now tis to be reputed lawful, and the peoples obedience voluntary. *Object.* 2.

To the first I answer with learned *Milton*, that if God commanded these things, 'tis a sign they were lawful and are commendable. But secondly, as I observed in the Relations of the examples themselves; Neither *Sampson* nor *Samuel* alledged any other cause or reason for what they did, but retaliation, and the *Sol.* 1.

[1] 2 *Chron.* 23. 17.

apparent justice of the actions themselves. Nor had God appeared to *Moses* in the Bush when he slew the *Egyptian*; nor did *Jehojada* alledg any Prophetical Authority or other Call to do what he did, but that common Call which all men have, to do all actions of Justice that are within their power, when the ordinary course of Justice ceases.

Sol. 2. To the second my answer is, that if commerce and pleadings were enough to Argue the people's consent, and give Tyrannie the name of Government, there was never yet any Tyrannie of many weeks standing in this world. Certainly, we then extreamly wrong *Caligula* and *Nero* in calling them Tyrants, and they were Rebels that conspired against them; except we will believe, that all the while they reign'd in *Rome*, they kept their shops shut, and opened not their Temples, or their Courts. We are likewise with no lesse absurdity to imagine, that the whole 18 years time which Israel served *Eglon*, and 6 years that *Athaliah* reigned, that the Israelites quite desisted from traffique, pleadings and all publique acts: otherwise *Ehud* and *Jehoiada* were both Traytors, the one for killing his King, the other his Queen.

Third Question. Having shewed what a Tyrant is, his Marks and Practises; I can scarce perswade my self to say any thing to that I made my third Question, Whether the Removing him is like to prove of Advantage to the Common-wealth or not? for methinks 'tis to enquire whether 'tis better the man die, or the Imposthumie be lanch'd, or the Gangræn'd limb be cut off? But yet there be some, whose Cowardice and Avarice furnish them with some Arguments to the contrary; and they would fayn make the world believe, that to be base and

degenerate, is to be Cautious and prudent: and what is in truth a servile fear, they falsly call a Christian patience. It will not be therefore amiss, to make appear, that there is indeed that necessity, which we think there is, of saving the Vineyard of the Common-wealth, if possible, by destroying the wild Boar that is broke into it. We have already shewed, that it is lawful; and now we shall see, whether it is expedient. First I have already told you, That to be under a Tyrant, is not to be a Common-wealth, but a great Family, consisting of Master and Slaves. *Vir bone servorum nulla est usquam civitas*, sayes an old Poet, A number of Slaves makes not a City. So that whilest this Monster lives, we are not members of a Common-wealth, but only his living tools and Instruments, which he may employ to what use he pleases. *Servi tua est fortuna, Ratio ad te nihil*, sayes another; Thy condition is a Slaves; thou art not to enquire a Reason, nor must we think we can continue long in the condition of slaves, and not degenerate into the habits and temper that is natural to that condition: our minds will grow low with our fortune; and by being accustomed to live like slaves, we shall become unfit to be any thing Else, *Etiam sera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis obliviscuntur*, sayes *Tacitus*[1] the fiercest creatures by long constraint, lose their courage. And sayes Sir *Francis Bacon*, the blessing of *Issachar* and that of *Judah*, falls not upon one people, to be Asses crouching under Burdens, and to have the Spirit of Lyons. And with their courage 'tis no wonder if they lose their fortune as the Effect with the cause, and Act as Ignominiously abroad as they suffer at home. 'Tis *Machiavel*'s[1] observation, That the

[1] *Discor. l.* 1. *c.* 24.

Roman Armies that were alwayes victorious under Consuls, All the while they were under the slavery of the Decemviri never prospered. And certainly people, have Reason to fight but faintly, where they are to gain the victory against themselves; when every success shall be a confirmation of their slavery, and a new linck to their chain.

But we shall not only lose our Courage which is a useless and an unsafe vertue under a Tyrant, but by degrees we shall, after the example of our Master, All turn perfidious, Deceitful, Irreligious, flatterers, and what ever else is villanous and Infamous in Mankind. See but to what a degree we are come to already. Can there any Oath be found so fortified by all Religious Tyes; which we easily find not a Distinction to break, when either Profit or Danger perswades us to it? Do we Remember any Engagements? or if we do, have we any shame to break them? Can any Man think with patience upon what we have profest, when he sees what we Vilely do, and Tamely Suffer? What have we of Nobility amongst us but the name, the luxury and the vices of it? poor wretches, these that now carry that title, are so far from having any of the vertues, that should grace, and indeed give them their titles, that they have not so much as the generous vices that attend greatness, they have lost all Ambition and Indignation. As for our Ministers, what have they, or indeed desire they, of their Calling, but the Tythes? How do these horrid prevaricators[1] search for distinctions to peece contrary Oaths? How do they Rake Scriptures for flatteries? And Impudently Apply them to his monstrous Highness? what is the City but a Great Tame Beast, that eats and Carries, and

[1] *Dr. Locker. Dr. Owen. Mr. Jenkins, &c.*

cares not who Rides it? What's the thing call'd a Parliament but a Mock? Composed of a people that are only suffered to sit there, because they are known to have no vertue, After the Exclusion of all others that were but suspected to have any? What are they but pimps of Tyranny, who are only Imployed to draw In the people to prostitute their Liberty? What will not the Army fight for? What will they not fight against! What are they but Janizaries, slaves themselves; and making all others so? what are the people in general but Knaves, Fools, and Cowards; principled for Ease, Vice and Slavery? This our temper, his Tyranny hath brought us to already; and if it continues, the little vertue that is yet left to stock the Nation, must totally extinguish, and then his Highness hath compleated his work to Reformation. And the truth is, till then his Highness cannot be secure. He must not endure vertue, for that will not endure him: He that will maintain Tyranny, must kill *Brutus*, sayes *Machiavell*. A Tyrant, sayes *Palto*,[1] must dispatch all vertuous persons, or he cannot be safe;[2] so that he is brought to that unhappy necessity, either to live among Base and wicked persons, or not to live at all.

Nor must we expect any Cure from our patience, *Inganno si gli huomini*, sayes *Machiavel*,[3] *credendo con la humilità vincere la superbia*. Men deceive themselves, that think to mollifie Arrogancy with humility; a Tyrant's never modest but when he's weak; 'tis in the winter of his fortune when this Serpent bites not: we must not therefore suffer our selves to be couzened with hopes of his amend-

[1] *Disc. l.* 3. *cap.* 3. [2] *De Repub. lib.* 8.
[3] *Disc. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14.

ment: for *Nemo unquam*[1] *Imperium flagitio quæsitum, bonis artibus exercuit*; Never did any man manage that Government with Justice, that got it by Villany. The longer the Tyrant lives, the more the Tyrannical humour increases in him, sayes *Plato*,[2] like those Beasts that grow more curst as they grow old. New occasions daily happen, that necessitate them to new mischiefs, and he must defend one Villany with another.

But suppose the contrary of all this, and that his Highness were *vi Dominationis convulsus, & mutatus*, changed to the better by great fortune, (of which he yet gives no symptoms) What notwithstanding could be more miserable, then to have no other security for our liberty, no other law for our safety, than the will of a man, though the most just living? we have all our beast within us, and whosoever (sayes *Aristotle*)[3] is governed by a man without a Law, is governed by a man and by a beast. *Etiam si non sit molestus*[4] *Dominus; tamen est miserrimum posse si velit*, sayes *Tully*, Though a Master does not Tyrannize, yet 'tis a miserable thing that 'tis in his power to do so if he will. If he be good, so was *Nero* for five years, and how shall we be secure that he will not change? Besides, the power that is allowed to a good man, we may be sure will be claimed and taken by an ill. And therefore it hath been the custome of good Princes,[5] to abridge their own power, it may be distrusting themselves, but certainly fearing their Successours, to the chance of whose being vertuous, they would not hazard the welfare of their people. An unlimited power there-

[1] *Tacit. Hist. lib.* 1. [2] *de Repub. lib.* 9.
[3] *Pol. lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. [4] *Cic. Phil.* 4.
[5] *Lycurgus. Theopomp. Plut. in Lycurg.*

fore is to be trusted to none; which if it does not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one: or if one uses it modestly, 'tis no argument that others will; and therefore *Augustus Cæsar* must have no greater power given him, then you would have *Tiberius* take. And *Cicero*'s moderation is to be trusted with a consideration, That there are others to be Consuls as well as he.[1]

But before I press this business farther, if it needs be any farther prest, that we should endeavour to rescue the honour, the vertue and liberty of our Nation, I shall answer to some few Objections that have occurred to me. This I shall do very briefly.

Some I find of a strange Opinion, That it were a generous and a noble action to kill his Highness in the field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but know not why. As if it were not generous to apprehend a Thief, till his sword were drawn, and he in a posture to defend himself and kill me. But these people do not consider, that whosoever is possest of power any time, will be sure to engage so many either in guilt or profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out by open force, will very much hazard the total ruine of the Common-wealth. A Tyrant is a Devill that tears the body in the exorcising; and they are all of *Caligula*'s temper, That if they could, they would have the whole frame of Nature fall with them.[2] 'Tis an opinion that deserves no other refutation, then the manifest absurdity of it self; that it should be lawful for me to destroy a Tyrant with hazard, blood, and confusion, but not without.

Another Objection, and more common, is, the fear

[1] *Vid. Orat. Cæsaris in Salust. consp. cat.*
[2] *Sueton. in vit. Calig.*

of what may succeed if his Highness were removed. One would think the World were bewitched. I am fallen into a ditch, where I shall certainly perish if I lye, but I refuse to be helpt out for fear of falling into another ; I suffer a certain misery for fear of a contingent one, and let the disease kill me, because there is hazard in the cure. Is not this that ridiculous policy, *Ne moriare, mori* ;[1] To die for fear of dying. Sure, 'tis frenzy not to desire a Change, when we are sure we cannot be worse ; *Et non incurrere in pericula, ubi quiescendo paria metuuntur*, and not then to hazard, when the danger and the mischiefs are the same in lying still.

Hitherto I have spoken in general to all Englishmen ; Now I address my discourse particularly to those that certainly best deserve that name, Our Selves, that have fought, however unfortunately, for our Liberties under this Tyrant ; and in the end couzened by his Oaths and Tears, have purchased nothing but our slavery with the price of our blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this Monster to Justice, whom he hath made the Instruments of his Villany, and sharers in the Curse and Detestation that is due to himself from all good men. Others onely have their Liberty to vindicate ; We, our Liberty and our Honour. We engaged to the People with him, and to the People for him, and from our hands they may justly expect a satisfaction of punishment, being they cannot have that of performance. What the People at present endure, and Posterity shall suffer, will be all laid at our doors : for onely We under God have the power to pull down this Dagon which we have set up. And if we do it not, all Mankind will repute us Approvers

[1] *Seneca.*

of all the Villanies he hath done; and Authors of all to come. Shall we that would not endure a King attempting Tyranny, shall we suffer a profest Tyrant? We that resisted the Lyon assailing us, shall we submit to the Woolf tearing us? If there be no remedy to be found, we have great reason to exclaime; *utinam te potius* (Carole) *retinuissemus quam hunc habuissemus, non quod ulla sit optanda servitus, sed quod ex Dignitate Domini minus turpis est conditio servi*;[1] We wish we had rather endured thee (O *Charles*) then have been condemned to this mean Tyrant; not that we desire any kind of slavery, but that the Quality of the Master something graces the condition of the slave.

But if we consider it rightly what our Duty, our Engagements, and our Honour exact from us, both our Safety and our Interest oblige us to, And 'tis as unanswerable, in us, to discretion, as 'tis to vertue, to let this Viper live. For first he knowes very well, 'tis onely we that have the power to hurt him, and therefore of us he will take any course to secure himself: he is conscious to himself how falsly and perfidiously he hath dealt with us, and therefore he will alwayes fear that from our revenge, which he knowes he hath so well deserved.

Lastly, he knowes our Principles, how directly contrary they are to that Arbitrary power he must govern by, and therefore he may reasonably suspect, that we that have already ventured our liues against Tyranny, will alwayes have the Will, when we have the opportunity, to do the same again.

These Considerations will easily perswade him to secure himself of us, if we prevent him not, and secure our selves of him. He reads in his Practise

[1] *Cic. in Epist. ad Octav.*

of Piety,[1] *chi diviene Patron*, &c. He that makes himself master of a City, that hath been accustomed to Liberty, if he destroyes it not, he must expect to be destroyed by it. And we may read too in the same Authour, and believe him, that [2] those that are the occasion that one becomes powerful; alwayes ruines them, if they want the Wit and Courage to secure themselves.

Now as to our Interest, we must never expect that he will ever trust those, that he hath provoked and seared: He will be sure to keep us down, lest we should pluck down him. 'Tis the Rule that Tyrants observe, when they are in power, never to make much use of those that helpt them to it, and indeed 'tis their Interest and security not to do it: for those that have been the authors of their greatness being conscious of their own merit, they are bold with the Tyrant, and lesse industrious to please him. They think all he can do for them is their due, and still they expect more: and when they fail in their expectations, (as 'tis impossible to satisfie them) their disappointment makes them discontented, and their discontents dangerous. Therefore all Tyrants follow the example of *Dionysius*, who was said to use his friends, as he did his Bottles, when he had use for them, he kept them by him; when he had none, that they should not trouble him and lie in his way, he hung them up.

But to conclude this already over-long Paper, let every man to whom God hath given the Spirit of Wisdome and Courage, be perswaded by his Honour, his Safety, his own Good and his Countries, and indeed the duty he owes to his Generation, and to Mankind, to endeavour by all Rational means to

[1] *Mach. Pr. c.* 5. [2] *Ibid. c.* 3.

free the World of this Pest. Let not other Nations have the occasion to think so meanly of us, as if we resolved to sit still and have our Ears bored: or that any discouragement or disappointments can ever make us desist from attempting our Liberty, till we have purchased it, either by this Monster's death, or by our own. Our Nation is not yet so barren of vertue, that we want noble examples to follow amongst our selves. The brave *Sindercombe* hath shewed as great a mind, as any old *Rome* could boast of; and had he lived there, his name had been registred with *Brutus*, and *Calvo*; and he had had his Statues as well as they.

But I will not have so sinister an opinion of our selves (as little Generosity as Slavery hath left us) as to think so great a vertue can want its Monuments even amongst us. Certainly, in every vertuous Mind there are Statues rear'd to *Sindercombe*. When ever we read the Elogies of those that have dyed for their Country; when we admire those great Examples of magnanimity, that have tired Tyrants cruelties: When we extoll their constancys whom neither bribes nor terrours could make betray their Friends; 'Tis then we erect *Sindercombe* Statues, and grave him Monument: Where all that can be said of a great and noble mind, we justly make an Epitaph for him. And though the Tyrant caused him to be Smothered, lest the people should hinder an open Murder; yet he will never be able either to smother his memory, or his own Villany. His Poison was but a poor and common device to impose only on those that understood not Tyrants practises, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his cruelties and falshoods. He may therefore if he please, take away the Stake from *Sindercomb's*

Grave; and if he have a mind it should be known how he dyed, let him send thither the Pillowes and Feather-bedds with which *Barkstead* and his Hangman smothered him. But to conclude, Let not this Monster think himself the more secure, that he hath supprest one great Spirit,[1] he may be confident, that *Longus post illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*

There's a great Rowl behind, even of those that are in his own Muster-Rolls, that are ambitious of the Name of the Deliverers of their Countrey: and they know what the Action is that will purchase it. His Bed, his Table is not secure; and he stands in need of other Guards to defend him against his own. Death and destruction pursues him wheresoever he goes: they follow him every where, like his fellow-travellers, and at last they will come upon him like armed men. Darkness is hid in his secret places, a Fire not blown shall consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his Tabernacle. He shall flee from the Iron weapon, and a bow of Steel shall strike him through.[2] Because he hath oppressed, and forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away a House[3] which he builded not: We may be confident, and so may he, that ere long, all this will be accomplisht: For the Triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of the Hypocrite but for a moment.[4] Though his Excellency[5] mount up to the Heavens, and his Head reacheth unto the Clouds, yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung. They that have seen Him, shall say, Where is He?

[1] *And what may* Cicil *and* Toop *expect for their Treachery and Perjury?* [2] Job 20.
[3] *White-Hall, Hampton-Court, &c.* [4] V. 5.
[5] *He hath now left that Title for Highness; and will shortly leave that for King.*

To all Officers and Souldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honest.

I Heartily wish for Englands sake, that your number may be far greater then I fear it is; and that his Highness his frequent purgations may have left any amongst you, that by these Characters are concern'd in this Dedication. That I and all men have reason to make this a doubt, your own action, as well as your tame sufferings do but too plainly manifest. For you that were the Champions of our Liberty, and to that purpose were raised, are not you become the instruments of our slavery? and your hands that the people employ'd to take off the yoak from off our necks, are not those very hands they that now put it on? Do you remember that you were raised to defend the Priviledges of Parliament, and have sworn to do it; and will you be employed to force Elections, and dissolve Parliaments, because they will not establish the Tyrants iniquity, and our slavery by a Law? I beseech you think upon what you have promised and what you do, and give not Posterity as well as your own Generation, the occasion to mention you with infamie, and to curse that unfortunate valour, and success of yours, that onely hath gained victories (as you use them) against the Common-wealth. Could ever England have thought to have seen that Army that was never mentioned without the titles of Religious, Zealous, Faithful, Couragious, the fence of her liberty at home, the Terrour of her enemies abroad; Become her Gaolers? not her

Guard, but her oppressors? not her Souldiers, but a Tyrants Executioners, drawing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be honester than themselves? This you do; and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own honour, the trust and love of your Country, the estimation of brave men, or the prayers of good; If you let not speedily the World see you have been deceived; which they will onely then believe, when they see your vengeance upon his faithless head that did it. This if you defer too long to do, you will find too late to attempt, and your Repentance will neither vindicate you, nor help us. To let you see you may do this as a lawful action, and to perswade you to it as a Glorious one, is the principal intent of this following Paper: Which, whatever effects it hath upon you, I shall not absolutely fail of my ends; for if it excites not your vertue and courage, it will yet exprobrate your cowardice and baseness. This is from one that was once one amongst you, and will be so again when you dare be so as you were.

AN APPENDIX.

WHat is here treated of, appeareth to be lawful; there are not a few Examples, that it hath been followed amongst the *Romans*; the greatest part of their Emperours fell by the hands of private men: Some of them rather then they would fall by a private hand, or publick hand of Justice, did follow the Counsel here prescribed the late Tyrant, that is, to free others from the trouble of hanging him according to his desert, by killing himself; as *Nero* and others did before him by poysons and other means. The Advice is good, for none that ever attained to that Estate of Dignity, our Villany, but their Imaginations were scrued up to the deeming themselvs to be reckoned amongst the Immortal Gods: Men of less Dignity, though of much better mind, must not claim that acquaintance of the Gods, as these Wolves and Panthers. *Nero* must be deified 3 days before he was condemned to be whipt to death like a Rogue: All men desire rather to appear to be what they should be, than what they are. Their Commands are of Divine Stamp: The preservation of themselves is reckoned at a higher rate then the preservation of the people. They can perswade themselves no otherwise, but their dignity is bestowed upon them out of singular love from above; and that all inferiour to them are given to be vassals; and that they should hold Life, Liberty & Estate, by no other Tenure than that of Courtesie: If it were profitable for the Tyrant to take all three from all, as well as one or all from some, he would do it: But he will not do that, because he must preserve them, or at least so many, that by them he

may subsist: those whom he destroyeth, are always the best of men. The Tyrant that is the Subject of this Discourse, since none would put in execution what is here urged; nor yet the Army, who should have delivered him to Justice, and made him a famous Example to all after-ages; God, by his Divine Hand of Justice, did deliver this poor Captivated Nation from under his hand: His death was not a death like unto other men; though some would have it so: Not one drop of bloud was found in his Heart, who had delighted to drink so much innocent bloud as he did, of many persons who were trappan'd by his Sicofants, who contrived the Plot, & drew in those persons, whose late sufferings prepared them, and made them apt matter for the receiving any thing propounded that had the least favour of Revenge, as Tinder to receive fire. These Sicovants afterwards became the discoverers of the Plots, and the Witnesses themselves; and the Army standing by as aiders and abettors of those horrid Inhumanities, of which the Army have (in part) repented: There remaineth yet of their Repentance, Newness of Life, that is, Never more to be instrumental in aiding a Tyranny, either in one or more. The Expedients for prevention thereof, are such as these; That seeing it is lawful to kill a Tyrant and Usurper, without any express Law, it would be much more warantable, and more encouragement, for Undertakers herein, if a Law were made, that in that Case onely it should be lawful for a man to kill another, that doth design, plot, conspire; or that setteth on foot any thing that tendeth to the erecting a Tyranny. Here it is not meant to countenance Murders, that after slaying a man, it shall be sufficient to plead he was erecting a Tyranny for himself or others: No, but his Plea for his Justification, shalbe attended with such Circumstances, and other Evidences and Proof, that it shalbe demonstrable and evident that it was so.

Without some such kind of Law, and the often reading thereof, as once it was a Custom, that *Magna Charta* should be read once a year in every Church throughout these Dominions, you shall never else be able to keep out Tyrants. Would you do it by Arms, he maketh them his : would you do it by Law, he lifteth himself above the Laws ? In such a Case, no Hand can reach him, but a private Hand. To what purpose is it, that a Common-wealth shall ordain, that it shall be Treason for any to attempt the Supremacy, and that it shall be punished with death, when such like Ordinances cannot take place, nor be put into execution : unless that he who attempteth the Tyranny, do miscarry and fail of his Enterprise ? But on the contrary, if the Usurper doth accomplish and effect what he undertaketh, then such kind of Laws are but dead Letters ; for that the Law by a publick Hand of Justice cannot reach him, in regard that now he hath made himself Master of the Law, and all Courts of Justice, in which the Law is administred, therefore a private Hand of Justice must reach him : to that end and purpose, to preserve a State free, you must ordain such a Law that great Rewards shall be given, and respect shall be had to such person or persons, as shall kill a Tyrant and Usurper, that shall attempt the Supremacie of a Nation. If such a Law had been in being at that day that the sitting of this Parliament was interrupted ; and that in prosecution of that Law some one or two had put it in execution upon *Cromwel* and *Harrison*, who took the Speaker by the hand, and drew him out of his Chair, it had doubtless prevented that Tyranny, that hath been over us for these six years, and might again the same day have given quiet to the sitting of the Parliament, if the same day the Execution had been done ; the which, doubtless, would have been, if any such Law had been in being. Is it any other, then, in effect, than the same Law

that it shall be death to attempt the Supremacie ; and that it shall be lawful for any one to kill him, that shall attempt the Supremacie : You design his death, that shall do such a thing by your Law ; onely the manner of the Execution differeth : Both are good, and when ordinary Justice cannot reach him, Extraordinry ought. The Reward to the person that shall deliver his Countrey in this manner, ought to be great, he ought to have his Condition bettered ten times, of what it was under the Tyrant ; which will invite some to undertake the work. Killing of a Tyrant is onely lawful, when other means faileth. It is not lawful, but when the Publick may probably reap the benefit of it. If you should kill one Tyrant to set up another, you sin against God, and Nature, and Law.

FINIS.

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER

BY

GEORGE SAVILE
MARQUIS OF HALIFAX

GEORGE SAVILE,
MARQUIS OF HALIFAX

1633–95

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER

[1687. James the Second's attempt to override the Test Act of 1673 by means of his first Declaration of Indulgence, offered obvious temptations to the Nonconformist parties. But the Declaration was designed to confer equivalent relief upon Roman Catholics, and this (its true purpose) made it abhorrent to all uncompromising Protestants, to whichever group they might belong. Halifax's was but one voice amongst a multitude raised against James's plan, but it was a voice that carried farther than most. His famous *Letter*, which brought forth a shower of pamphlets in reply, was published without licence, and signed with noncommittal initials, T. W. (The Writer).]

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER,

Upon Occasion of His Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

SIR,

SINCE Addresses are in fashion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the Effect of Fear, Interest, or Resentment; therefore you may be sure it is sincere: and for that reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to Convince, dependeth upon the Reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your Preparation of Mind, to be perswaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcome, for coming from a friendly Hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of Opinion, and who will not let his Thoughts for the Publick be so tied or confined to this or that Sub-division of Protestants, as to stifle the Charity, which, besides all other Arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither surprized nor provoked, to see that in the Condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill Circumstances you lay under by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your Charge,

you were desirous to make your selves less uneasy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest Remedy with too much hast to consider all the consequences: Grains of allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth such strong Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Ease, the present Pain will hardly allow time to examine the Remedies; and the strongest Reason can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilst so possessed, till the Smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the Warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendships, may not make it a harder Task for me to perswade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome Stile doth not easily find Credit: but I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new Passion, but that you will *Hear* still; and therefore I am under the less Discouragement, when I offer to your Consideration two things. The *First* is, The Cause you have to suspect your new Friends. The *Second*, The Duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and Prudence, not to hazard the Publick Safety, neither by desire of Ease, nor of Revenge.

To the *First*: Consider that notwithstanding the smooth Language which is now put on to engage you, these new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their first Courtships to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the second place. The Instances of this might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary,

must be tedious, the truth of this Assertion being so plain, as not to admit a Dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter your selves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to usher in Liberty for themselves under that shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman's Letters*, and to the *Journals* of *Parliament*, where you may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken as to doubt ; nay, at this very hour, they can hardly forbear, in the height of their Courtship, to let fall hard Words of you. So little is Nature to be restrained ; it will start out sometimes, disdaining to submit to the Usurpation of Art and Interest.

This Alliance, between *Liberty* and *Infallibility*, is bringing together the Two most contrary things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only dislike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbid to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty to the *Papists* : They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The continuance of their kindness, would be a habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Absolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters, for tender Consciences : By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick Hand to cut off Limbs ; but she is the worst at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come so quick from another Extream, is such

an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard; the other day you were *Sons of Belial*: Now, you are *Angels of Light*. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it: If your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, what ever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? Sure you do not. See then, how they treat both in Words and Writing, those who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their Favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a *Non Obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty; and the known Enemy to Persecution: The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, are above all other Eminent for Loyalty. The *Quakers* from being declared by the Papists not to be Christians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their particular Protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished Men of the Kingdom in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the best Grace, in double refined Language. So that I should not wonder, though a Man of that Perswasion, in spite of his Hat, should be Master of the Ceremonies. Not to say harsher words, these are such very new things, that it is impossible not to suspend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be inform'd whether they are Realities or Apparitions: We have been under shameful mistakes if these Opinions are true; but for the present, we are apt to be incredulous, except we could be

convinced, that the Priests words in this case too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual change, and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things, as often as they are so disposed.

Let me now speak of the Instruments of your Friendship, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford matter of Suspition. No sharpness is to be mingled where Healing only is intended; so nothing will be said to expose particular men, how strong soever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, shall suffice: Suppose then, for Argument's sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance, should be such as have been formerly imployed in Treaties of the same kind, and there detected to have Acted by Order, and to have been Impower'd to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to suspect them?

If they should plainly be under Engagements to one side, their Arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as part of their Commission, which may not improbably give them a Dispensation in the case of Truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the Service of those by whom they are imployed.

If there should be men who having formerly had Means and Authority to perswade by Secular Arguments, have in pursuance of that Power, sprinkled Money amongst the Dissenting Ministers; and if those very men should now have the same Authority, practice the same Methods, and Disburse, where they cannot otherwise perswade: It seemeth

to me to be rather an Evidence than a Presumption of the Deceit.

If there should be Ministers amongst you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this kind, are in some sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the awe they are in lest it should be exposed; the Perswasions of these unfortunate Men must sure have the less force, and their Arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from Men who have mortgaged themselves to severe Creditors, that expect a rigorous Observation of the Contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this time Preach in Anger and Vengeance against the Church of *England*; may it not without Injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of Season, springeth rather from Corruption than Mistake; and that those who act this Cholerick part, do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher Directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their Contract which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrenched if they should be Moderate: And therefore whilst Violence is their Interest, those who have not the same Arguments, have no reason to follow such a partial Example.

If there should be Men, who by the load of their Crimes against the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience; who by incurring the want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themselves a necessity of an entire Resignation; such men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their Unwelcome Task, will be inwardly glad that

their forced Endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when men resist their Insinuations ; which are far from being Voluntary or Sincere, but are squeezed out of them by the weight of their being so Obnoxious.

If in the heighth of this great dearness by comparing things, it should happen, that at this instant, there is much a surer Friendship with those who are so far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no Living to a Protestant under them, let the Scene lie in what part of the World it will, the Argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient ground to suspect. Apparent Contradictions must strike us ; neither Nature nor Reason can digest them : Self-Flattery, and the desire to Deceive our selves to gratifie present Appetite, with all their Power, which is Great, cannot get the better of such broad Conviction as some things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty Suspitions ? have you been at all times so void of Fears and Jealousies as to justifie your being so unreasonably Valiant in having none upon this occasion ? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unseasonable time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then for these and a thousand other Reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure your new Friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you ; for instance, The Addresses that fly abroad every Week, and Murther us with *Another to the same* ; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion : and it is your part only to Write them out fairer again. Strange ! that you who have been formerly so much against *Set Forms*, should now be content the Priests should Indite for you. The nature of Thanks

is an unavoidable consequence of being pleased or obliged; they grow in the Heart, and from thence shew themselves either in Looks, Speech, Writing, or Action: No man was ever Thankful because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought he had some Reason for it. If then there is cause in this Case to pay such extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to Tire all the Post-Horses with carrying Circular Letters to solicite that which would be done without any trouble or constraint: If it is really in it self such a Favour, what needeth so much pressing men to be thankful, and with such eager circumstances, that where Perswasions cannot delude, Threatnings are employed to fright them into a Compliance. Thanks must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either Trifles or Snares; they either signifie nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an Inference should be made, That whosoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that ingaged to Justifie it in point of Law; it is a greater Stride than, I presume, all those care to make who are perswaded to Address: If it shall be supposed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the TEST, whenever a *Parliament* shall meet, such an Expectation is better prevented before, than disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the lying under such a Scandal, is not to do any thing that may give a colour to the Mistake: These bespoken Thanks are little less improper than Love Letters that were solicited by the Lady to whom they are to be directed: so, that besides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them doth

extreamly lessen their Value. It might be wished that you would have suppressed your impatience, and have been content for the sake of Religion, to enjoy it within your selves without the Liberty of a publick Exercise, till a Parliament had allowed it ; but since that could not be, and that the Artifices of some amongst you have made use of the Well-meant Zeal of the generality to draw them into this Mistake, I am so far from blaming you with that sharpness which, perhaps, the Matter in strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the side of the more gentle construction.

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in being : the Law is so Sacred, that no Trespass against it is to be defended ; yet Frailties may in some measure be excused, when they cannot be justified. The Desire of enjoying a Liberty from which Men have been so long restrained, may be a Temptation that their Reason is not at all times able to resist. If in such a case, some Objections are leapt over, indifferent Men will be more inclined to lament the Occasion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention ; but where, to rescue your selves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected, and instead of silently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it, you become voluntary Aggressors, and look like Counsel retained by the Prerogative against your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your Displeasure.

If the Case then should be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, sure you will think twice, before you go any further in such a losing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you lose the Right of Complaining of the Breach of all the rest; you will not very well know how to defend your selves when you are pressed; and having given up the Question when it was for your Advantage, you cannot re-call it when it shall be to your Prejudice. If you will set up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time, by parity of Reason, shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a Mischief you draw upon your selves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you: In such a case your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raise Mirth instead of Compassion.

If you think, for your Excuse, to expound your Thanks so as to restrain them to this particular Case, others, for their Ends, will extend them further: And in these differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the most likely to prevail; especially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument, and that the Inferences from your own Concessions are very strong and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late Instance of it, the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, though things of course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the Kings whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further

Examination of any part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing, meerly by this innocent and usual piece of good Manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.

This sheweth, that some Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of *England* is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Compliment. Now that you have for some time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make you sollicitous to preserve it; so that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat, and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religion, as not to rely upon a Death-Bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first Heats, which, if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Consider this in the Case of your Anger against the Church of *England*, and take warning by their Mistake in the same kind, when after the late King's Restauration, they preserved so long the bitter Taste of your rough Usage to them in other times, that it made them forget their Interest, and sacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that reason not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no reason to be offended with them; so that you must either dismiss your Anger, or lose your Excuse; except you should argue more partially

than will be supposed of Men of your Morality and Understanding.

If you had now to do with those rigid Prelates, who made it a matter of Conscience to give you the least Indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable Distance, and even to your most reasonable Scruples continued stiff and inexorable, the Argument might be fairer on your side; but since the common Danger hath so laid open that Mistake, that all the former Haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguished, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Persecution into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condescension; shall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England*? And are you so in love with Separation, as not to be mov'd by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reason than that it is Vertue; but when besides that, it is become necessary to your Preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it should be said, that the Church of *England* is never humble but when she is out of power, and therefore loseth the Right of being believed when she pretendeth to it: The Answer is, *First*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much mistimed; an unseasonable Triumph, not only ungenerous, but unsafe: So that in these respects it cannot be urged, without Scandal, even though it could be said with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not so in Fact, and the Argument must fall, being built upon a false Foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very Hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your present Sunshine, the Church of *England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again, and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if she would give

but a Smile or a kind Word; the least Glimpse of her Compliance would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the time of this Kindness to you, and yet the Church of *England*, with all her Faults, will not allow her self to be rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chuseth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being criminal.

It cannot be said, that she is unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day, to call for Answers, yet she will not be stirred. From the supposed Authors, and the Stile, one would swear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the Church of *England*. There are Lashes in every Address, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet: In short, the fairest Occasions in the World given to quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to act as they do with no ill Intent; and these small Skirmishers, pickt and sent out to picqueer, and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants, for the Entertainment as well as the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

This Conduct is so good, that it will be scandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal Dealing to blame our Adversaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Complyance, is a Principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an Objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by Vertue of a *Congé d'eslire*, and instead of Election, be satisfied if you are Returned?

Will you in *Parliament* justifie the Dispensing Power, with all its Consequences, and Repeal the *Test*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preserve your Religion, and to Enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the Liberty of Debate into the Merit of Obedience; and to be made Instruments to repeal or enact Laws, when the *Roman Consistory* are *Lords of the Articles*?

Are you so linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the Papists in it?

Consider, that the implyed Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, than that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be sacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bayl; the first Act of Non-compliance, sendeth you to Jayl again.

You may see that the Papists themselves do not relie upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to justifie, since the being so very earnest to get it established by a Law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear

Evidence, that they do not think that the single Power of the Crown is in this Case a good Foundation; especially when this is done under a Prince, so very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative help to strengthen and support it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church of England*, and not without reason, for going so far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as soon as they stopped, you see they are not only deserted, but prosecuted: Conclude then from this Example, that you must either break off your Friendship, or resolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their Design, they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or else after the queaziness of starting at a Surplice, you must be forced to swallow Transubstantiation.

Remember that the other day those of the *Church of England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a sudden Turn, you are become the Favourites; do not deceive your selves, it is not the nature of lasting Plants thus to shoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not so long since, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, *It is impossible for a Dissenter not to be a REBEL.* Consider at this time in *France*, even the new Converts are so far from being imployed, that they are disarmed; their sudden Change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are reconciled; What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, when ever they shall think

fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given such Arguments for their excuse?

Besides all this, you Act very unskilfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star, which promiseth you every thing that is prosperous.

The *Church of England* convinced of its Error in being severe to you; the *Parliament*, when-ever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you; the next Heir bred in the Country which you have so often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather inlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the Common Enemy; so that in truth, all things seem to conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much haste to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one Article of Humane Strength, to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince; our Objections to his Belief do not hinder us from seeing his Vertues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no effect upon our Allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our Passive-Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-Resistance; though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal Mistake of misapplying our Anger, by the natural course of things, this Danger will pass away like a shower of Hail; fair weather will succeed, as lowering as the Sky now looketh, and all this by plain and easie Receipt; *Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and so long as we continue this method, it is next to impossible, that the odds of* 200 *to one should lose the Bett; except the Church of* Rome, *which hath been so long barren of Miracles, should now in her declining Age, be brought to Bed of One that would out-do the best she can brag of in her* Legend.

To conclude, the short Question will be, Whether you will join with those who must in the end run the same Fate with you? If Protestants of all sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal terms, and for that very reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Dis-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to us; those who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at least Excuse, to neglect all Secular Cautions; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Humane Means of preserving it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most Affectionate humble Servant,

T. W.

THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS

BY DANIEL DEFOE

DANIEL DEFOE

1659 ?–1731

THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS; OR, PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH

[1702. Defoe's liberal use of irony in this lampoon was undetected by a number of his ecclesiastical readers, who indiscreetly made known their agreement with the proposals here set forth. It was only the unwary few who were deceived, however, and these but for a brief time. The pamphlet was issued anonymously, but the author was quickly identified, whereupon an order followed for the arrest of Defoe. In the description advertised at this time we have the only known statement as to his physical appearance: 'A middle-sized spare man about forty years old, of a brown complexion and dark brown-coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth.' Defoe was not long able to evade arrest, and having given himself up, was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned until August, 1704. The effect of these measures was to make him a popular hero—ill compensation for the ruin of his business, which, at the time of his arrest, was that of a tile manufacturer at Tilbury.]

THE SHORTEST-WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS, &c.

SIR *Roger L'Estrange* tell us a Story in his Collection of Fables, of the Cock and the Horses. The Cock was gotten to Roost in the Stable, among the Horses, and there being no Racks, or other Conveniencies for him, it seems, he was forc'd to roost upon the Ground ; the Horses jostling about for room, and putting the Cock in danger of his Life, he gives them his grave Advice ; *Pray Gentlefolks let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another.*

THERE are some People in the World, who now they are *unpearcht*, and reduc'd to an Equality with other People, and under strong and very just Apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin with *Æsop*'s Cock, to Preach up Peace and Union, and the Christian Duties of Moderation, forgetting, that when they had the Power in their Hands, those Graces were Strangers in their Gates.

It is now near Fourteen Years, that the Glory and Peace of the purest and most flourishing Church in the World has been Ecclips'd, Buffetted, and Disturb'd, by a sort of Men, who God in his Providence has suffer'd to insult over her, and bring her down ; these have been the Days of her Humiliation

and Tribulation : She has born with an invincible Patience the Reproach of the Wicked, and God has at last heard her Prayers, and deliver'd her from the Oppression of the Stranger.

And now they find their Day is over, their Power gone, and the Throne of this Nation possest by a Royal, *English*, True, and ever Constant Member of, and Friend to the Church of *England*. Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of *England's* just Resentments; now they cry out *Peace*, *Union*, *Forbearance*, and *Charity*, as if the Church had not too long harbour'd her Enemies under her Wing, and nourish'd the viperous Brood, till they hiss and fly in the Face of the Mother that cherish'd them.

No Gentlemen, the Time of Mercy is past, your *Day of Grace is over* ; you shou'd have practis'd Peace, and Moderation, and Charity, if you expected any your selves.

We have heard none of this Lesson for Fourteen Years past : We have been huff'd and bully'd with your Act of Tolleration ; you have told us that you are the *Church establish'd by Law*, as well as others ; have set up your Canting-Synagogues at our Church-Doors, and the Church and her Members have been loaded with Reproaches, with Oaths, Associations, Abjurations, and what not ; where has been the Mercy, the Forbearance, the Charity you have shewn to *tender Consciences of the Church* of *England*, that cou'd not take Oaths *as fast as you made 'em* ; that having sworn Allegiance to their lawful and rightful King, cou'd not dispence with that Oath, *their King being still alive*, and swear to your new *Hodge-podge of a Dutch-Government*. These ha' been turn'd out of their Livings, and they and their

Families left to starve ; their Estates double Tax'd, to carry on a War they had *no Hand in*, and you *got nothing by*: What Account can you give of the Multitudes you have forc'd to comply, against their Consciences, with your new *sophistical Politicks*, who like the new Converts in *France*, Sin because they can't Starve. And now the Tables are turn'd upon you, you *must not be Persecuted, 'tis not a Christian Spirit.*

You have *Butcher'd* one King, *Depos'd* another King, and made a *mock King* of a Third ; and yet you cou'd have the Face to expect to be employ'd and trusted by the Fourth ; any body that did not know the Temper of your Party, wou'd stand amaz'd at the Impudence, as well as Folly, to think of it.

Your Management of your *Dutch Monarch*, whom you reduc'd to a meer *King of Cl—s*, is enough to give any future Princes such an Idea of your Principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your Clutches ; and God be thank'd, the Queen is out of your Hands, knows you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supreme Authority of a Nation has in its self a Power, *and a Right to that Power*, to execute the Laws upon any Part of that Nation it governs. The execution of the known Laws of the Land, and that with but a weak and gentle Hand neither, was all that the phanatical Party of this Land have ever call'd Persecution ; this they have magnified to a height, that the Sufferings of the *Hugonots* in *France* were not to be compar'd with—— Now to execute the known Laws of a Nation upon those who transgress them, after having first been voluntarily consenting to the making those Laws, can never be call'd Persecution,

but Justice. But Justice is always Violence to the Party offending, for every Man is Innocent in his own Eyes. The first execution of the Laws against Dissenters in *England*, was in the Days of King *James* the First; and what did it amount to, truly, the worst they suffer'd, was at their own request, to let them go to *New-England*, and erect a new Collony, and give them great Privileges, Grants, and suitable Powers, keep them under Protection, and defend them against all Invaders, and receive no Taxes or Revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of *England*, fatal Lenity! 'Twas the ruin of that excellent Prince, King *Charles* the First. Had King *James* sent all the Puritans in *England* away to the *West-Indies*, we had been a national unmix'd Church; the Church of *England* had been kept undivided and entire.

To requite the Lenity of the Father, they take up Arms against the Son; Conquer, Pursue, Take, Imprison, and at last put to Death the anointed of God, and Destroy the very Being and Nature of Government, setting up a sordid Impostor, who had neither Title to Govern, nor Understanding to Manage, but supplied that want with Power, bloody and desperate Councils and Craft, without Conscience.

Had not King *James* the First witheld the full execution of the Laws; had he given them strict Justice, he had clear'd the Nation of them, and the Consequences had been plain; his *Son had never been murther'd by them*, nor the Monarchy overwhelm'd; 'twas *too much Mercy* shewn them, was the ruin of his Posterity, and the ruin of the Nation's Peace. One would think the Dissenters should not have the Face to believe that we are to be wheedl'd and canted into Peace and Toleration,

when they know that they have once requited us with a civil War, and once with an intollerable and unrighteous Persecution for our former Civillity.

Nay, to encourage us to be Easy with them, 'tis apparent, that they never had the Upperhand of the Church, but they treated her with all the Severity, with all the Reproach and Contempt as was possible: What Peace, and what Mercy did they shew the Loyal Gentry of the Church of *England* in the time of their Triumphant Common-wealth? How did they put all the Gentry of *England* to ransom, whether they were actually in Arms for the King or not, making People compound for their Estates, and starve their Families? How did they treat the Clergy of the Church of *England*, sequester'd the Ministers, devour'd the Patrimony of the Church, and divided the Spoil, by sharing the Church-Lands among their Soldiers, and turning her Clergy out to starve; just such Measure as they have mete, shou'd be measur'd to them again.

Charity and Love is the known Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and 'tis plain she has put it in practice towards the Dissenters, even beyond what they ought, till she has been wanting to her self, and in effect, unkind to her own Sons; particularly, in the too much Lenity of King *James* the First, mentioned before, had he so rooted the Puritans from the Face of the Land, which he had an opportunity early to ha' done, they had not the Power to vex the Church, as since they have done.

IN the Days of King *Charles* the Second, how did the Church reward their bloody Doings with Lenity and Mercy, *except the barbarous Regicides of the pretended Court of Justice*; not a Soul suffer'd for all the Blood in an unnatural War: King *Charles* came

in all Mercy and Love, cherish'd them, preferr'd them, employ'd them, witheld the rigour of the Law, and oftentimes, even against the Advice of his Parliament, gave them liberty of Conscience ; and how did they requite him with the villainous Contrivance to Depose and Murther him and his Successor at the *Rye-Plot*.

KING *James*, as if Mercy was the inherent Quality of the Family, began his Reign with unusual Favour to them : Nor could their joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* against him, move him to do himself Justice upon them ; but that mistaken Prince thought to win them by Gentleness and Love, proclaim'd an universal Liberty to them, and rather discountenanc'd the Church of *England* than them ; how they requited him all the World knows.

THE late Reign is too fresh in the Memory of all the World to need a Comment ; how under Pretence of joining with the Church in redressing some Grievances, they pusht things to that extremity, in conjunction with some mistaken Gentlemen, as to Depose the late King, as if the Grievance of the Nation cou'd not ha' been redress'd but by the absolute ruin of the Prince : Here's an Instance of their Temper, their Peace, and Charity. To what height they carried themselves during the Reign of a King of their own ; how they crope into all Places of Trust and Profit ; how they insinuated into the Favour of the King, and were at first preferr'd to the highest Places in the Nation ; how they engrost the Ministry, and *above all, how pitifully they Manag'd*, is too plain to need any Remarks.

BUT particularly, their Mercy and Charity, the Spirit of Union, they tell us so much of, has been remarkable in *Scotland*, if any Man wou'd see the

Spirit of a Dissenter, let him look into *Scotland*; there they made an entire Conquest of the Church, trampled down the sacred Orders, and supprest the Episcopal Government, with an absolute, and as they suppose, irretrievable Victory, tho', 'tis possible, *they may find themselves mistaken*: Now 'twou'd be a very proper Question to ask their *Impudent Advocate, the Observator,* Pray how much Mercy and Favour did the Members of the Episcopal Church find in *Scotland*, from the *Scotch* Presbyterian-Government; and I shall undertake for the Church of *England*, that the Dissenters shall still receive as much here, tho' they deserve but little.

In a small Treatise of the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, 'twill appear, what Usage they met with, how they not only lost their Livings, but in several Places, were plunder'd and abus'd in their Persons; the Ministers that cou'd not conform, turn'd out, with numerous Families, and no Maintenance, and hardly Charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread; and the Cruelties of the Party are innumerable, and not to be attempted in this short Piece.

And now to prevent the distant Cloud which they perceiv'd to hang over their Heads from *England*; with a true Presbyterian Policy, they put in for *a union of Nations*, that *England* might unite their Church with the Kirk of *Scotland*, and their Presbyterian Members sit in our House of Commons, and their Assembly of *Scotch* canting Long-Cloaks in our Convocation; what might ha' been, if our Phanatick, Whiggish-States-men had continu'd, God only knows; but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

'Tis alledg'd by some of the Faction, and they

began to Bully us with it; that if we won't unite with them, they will not settle the Crown with us again, but when her Majesty dies, will chuse a King for themselves.

If they won't, we must make them, and 'tis not the first time we have let them know that we are able: The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, *England* has not promised not to assist the right Heir, and put them into possession, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements.

THESE are the Gentlemen, these their ways of treating the Church, both at home and abroad. Now let us examine the Reasons they pretend to give why we shou'd be favourable to them, why we should continue and tollerate them among us.

First, THEY are very Numerous, they say, they are a great Part of the Nation, and we cannot suppress them.

To this may be answer'd 1. THEY are not so Numerous as the Protestants in *France*, and yet the *French* King effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home.

But I am not of the Opinion they are so Numerous as is pretended; their Party is more Numerous than their Persons, and those mistaken People of the Church, who are misled and deluded by their wheedling Artifices, to join with them, make their Party the greater; but those will open their Eyes, when the Government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some Annimals, which they say, always desert a House when 'tis likely to fall.

2dly. The more Numerous, the more Dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and God has suffer'd us to bear them as Goads in our sides, for not utterly extinguishing them long ago.

3dly. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tryed whether we can or no; and I am of Opinion 'tis easy to be done, and cou'd prescribe Ways and Means, if it were proper, but I doubt not but the Government will find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land.

ANOTHER Argument they use, which is this, That 'tis a time of War, and we have need to unite against the common Enemy.

WE answer, this common Enemy had been no Enemy, if they had not made him so; he was quiet, in peace, and no way disturb'd, or encroach'd upon us, and we know no reason we had to quarrel with him.

But further. We make no question but we are able to deal with this common Enemy without their help; but why must we unite with them because of the Enemy, will they go over to the Enemy, if we do not prevent it by a union with them— We are very well contented they shou'd; and make no question, we shall be ready to deal with them and the common Enemy too, and better without them than with them.

Besides, if we have a common Enemy, there is the more need to be secure against our private Enemies; if there is one common Enemy, we have the less need to have an Enemy in our Bowels.

'Twas a great Argument some People used against suppressing the Old-Money, that 'twas a time of War, and 'twas too great a Risque for the Nation

to run, if we shou'd not master it, we shou'd be undone; and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not so great, but it might be mastered; and the Success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of less necessity to the Publick; we can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggisme, Faction, and Schism is melted down like the Old-Money.

To talk of the Difficulty, is to Frighten our selves with Chimæras and Notions of a Powerful Party, which are indeed a Party without Power; Difficulties often appear greater at a distance, than when they are search'd into with Judgment, and distinguish'd from the Vapours and Shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightned with it; this Age is wiser than that, by all our own Experience, *and theire's too*; King *Charles* the First, had early supprest this Party, if he had took more deliberate Measures. In short, 'tis not worth arguing, to talk of their Arms, their *Monmouths*, and *Shaftsburys*, and *Argiles* are gone, their *Dutch-Sanctuary* is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Destruction, and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of *England*, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let slip the Minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally Complain, *Post est Occasio Calva.*

Here are some popular Objections in the way.

As first, THE Queen has promis'd them, to continue them in their tollerated Liberty; and has told us she will be a religious Observer of her Word.

WHAT her Majesty will do we cannot help, but

what, as the Head of the Church, she ought to do, is another Case: Her Majesty has promised to Protect and Defend the Church of *England*, and if she cannot effectually do that without the Destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispence with one Promise to comply with another. But to answer *this Cavil more effectually*: Her Majesty did never promise to maintain the Tolleration, to the Destruction of the Church; but it is upon supposition that it may be compatible with the well being and safety of the Church, which she had declar'd she would take especial Care of: Now if these two Interests clash, 'tis plain her Majesties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend, and Establish the Church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be said, THAT the Church is in no immediate danger from the Dissenters, and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak Answer.

For first, IF a Danger be real, the Distance of it is no Argument against, but rather a Spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And 2dly, Here is the Opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the Church had to secure her self, and destroy her Enemies.

The Representatives of the Nation have now an Opportunity, the Time is come which all good Men ha' wish'd for, that the Gentlemen of *England* may serve the Church of *England*; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of *England* Queen.

What will ye do for your Sister in the Day that she shall be spoken for.

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the World.

If ever you will suppress the Spirit of Enthusiasm.

If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother.

If you will leave your Posterity free from Faction and Rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical Weed of Sedition, that has so long disturb'd the Peace of our Church, and poisoned the good Corn.

BUT, says another Hot and Cold Objector, this is renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act *De Heret. Comburendo*: This will be Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World.

I answer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do.

Serpents, Toads, Vipers, &c. are noxious to the Body, and poison the sensative Life; these poyson the Soul, corrupt our Posterity, ensnare our Children, destroy the Vitals of our Happyness, our future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Mass.

Shall any Law be given to such wild Creatures: Some Beasts are for Sport, and the Huntsmen give them advantages of Ground; but some are knock'd on Head by all possible ways of Violence and Surprize.

I do not prescribe Fire and Fagot, but as *Scipio* said of *Carthage*, *Delenda est Carthago*; they are to be rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our own: As for the Manner, I leave it to those Hands who have a right to execute God's Justice on the Nation's and the Church's Enemies.

BUT if we must be frighted from this Justice,

under the specious Pretences, and odious Sense of Cruelty, nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more Barbarous and Cruel to our own Children, and dear Posterity, when they shall reproach their Fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, 'You had an Opportunity 'to root out this cursed Race from the World, under 'the Favour and Protection of a true *English* Queen; 'and out of your foolish Pity you spared them, 'because, forsooth, you would not be Cruel, and 'now our Church is supprest and persecuted, our 'Religion trampl'd under Foot, our Estates plundred, 'our Persons imprisoned and dragg'd to Jails, 'Gibbets, and Scaffolds; your sparing this *Amalakite* 'Race is our Destruction, your Mercy to them proves 'Cruelty to your poor Posterity.'

HOW just will such Reflections be, when our Posterity shall fall under the merciless Clutches of this uncharitable Generation, when our Church shall be swallow'd up in Schism, Faction, Enthusiasme, and Confusion; when our Government shall be devolv'd upon Foreigners, and our Monarchy dwindled into a Republick.

'Twou'd be more rational for us, if we must spare this Generation, to summon our own to a general Massacre, and as we have brought them into the World Free, send them out so, and not betray them to Destruction by our supine negligence, and then cry *it is Mercy.*

Moses was a merciful meek Man, and yet with what Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of Three and thirty thousand of his dear *Israelites*, that were fallen into Idolatry; what was the reason? 'twas Mercy to the rest, to make these be Examples, to prevent the Destruction of the whole Army.

How many Millions of future Souls we save from Infection and Delusion, if the present Race of poison'd Spirits were purg'd from the Face of the Land.

'TIS vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by Mulcts, Fines, &c. 'tis their Glory and their Advantage; if the Gallows instead of the Counter, and the Gallies instead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or hear, there wou'd not be so many Sufferers, the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be chosen Sheriffs and Mayors, would go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.

If one severe Law were made, and punctually executed, that who ever was found at a Conventicle, shou'd be Banished the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we shou'd soon see an end of the Tale, they wou'd all come to Church; and one Age wou'd make us all One again.

TO talk of 5*s.* a Month for not coming to the Sacrament, and 1*s.* *per* Week for not coming to Church, this is such a way of converting People as never was known, this is selling them a Liberty to transgress for so much Money: If it be not a Crime, why don't we give them full Licence? And if it be, no Price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a Liberty to People to sin against God and the Government.

If it be a Crime of the highest Consequence, both against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Happyness of the Soul, let us rank it among capital Offences, and let it receive a Punishment in proportion to it.

We Hang Men for Trifles, and Banish them for

things not worth naming, but an Offence against God and the Church, against the Welfare of the World, and the Dignity of Religion, shall be bought off for 5*s*. this is such a shame to a Christian Government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to Posterity.

IF Men sin against God, affront his Ordinances, rebell against his Church, and disobey the Precepts of their Superiors, let them suffer as such capital Crimes deserve, so will Religion flourish, and this divided Nation be once again united.

And yet the Title of Barbarous and Cruel will soon be taken off from this Law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in *England* shou'd be Hang'd or Banish'd, but as in cases of Rebellions and Insurrections, if a few of the Ring-leaders suffer, the Multitude are dismist, so a few obstinate People being made Examples there's no doubt but the Severity of the Law would find a stop in the Compliance of the Multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this Nation is divided into Parties and Factions, and let us see how they can justify a Separation, or we of the Church of *England* can justify our bearing the Insults and Inconveniencies of the Party.

ONE of their leading Pastors, and a Man of as much Learning as most among them, in his Answer to a Pamphlet, entituled, *A Enquiry into the occasional Conformity*, hath these Words, P. 27 *Do the Religion of the Church and the Meeting-houses make two Religions? Wherein do they differ? The Substance of the same Religion is common to them both; and the Modes and Accidents are the things in which only they differ.* P. 28 *Thirty nine Articles are given us for the*

summary of our Religion, Thirty six contain the Substance of it, wherein we agree ; Three the additional Appendices, about which we have some differences.

Now, if as by their own acknowledgment, the Church of *England* is a true Church, and the Difference between them is only a few *Modes and Accidents*, Why shou'd we expect that they will suffer Gallows and Gallies, corporeal Punishment and Banishment for these Trifles ; there is no question but they will be wiser ; even their own Principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the Laws, and with Reason, and tho' at the first, Severity may seem hard, the next Age will feel nothing of it ; the Contagion will be rooted out ; the Disease being cur'd, there will be no need of the Operation, but if they should venture to transgress, and fall into the Pit, all the World must condemn their Obstinacy, as being without Ground from their own Principles.

Thus the Pretence of Cruelty will be taken off, and the Party actually suppress, and the Disquiets they have so often brought upon the Nation, prevented.

THEIR Numbers, and their Wealth, makes them Haughty, and that is so far from being an Argument to perswade us to forbear them, that 'tis a Warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the Unity of the Church, or remove them from us.

AT present, Heaven be prais'd, they are not so Formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so ; Providence, and the Church of *England*, seems to join in this particular, that now the Destroyers of the Nations Peace may be overturn'd, and to this end the present Opportunity seems to be put into our Hands.

To this end her present Majesty seems reserv'd to

enjoy the Crown, that the Ecclesiastick as well as Civil Rights of the Nation may be restor'd by her Hand.

To this end the Face of Affairs have receiv'd such a Turn in the process of a few Months, as never has been before; the leading Men of the Nation, the universal Cry of the People, the unanimous Request of the Clergy, agree in this, that the Deliverance of our Church is at hand.

For this end has Providence given us such a Parliament, such a Convocation, such a Gentry, and such a Queen as we never had before.

AND what may be the Consequences of a Neglect of such Opportunities? The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect, another *Dutch* Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible: Be the House of our future Princes never so well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be spent in suiting the Genius of Strangers to the Crown, and to the Interests of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the *English* Throne be fill'd with so much Zeal and Candour, so much Tenderness and hearty Affection to the Church, as we see it now cover'd with, who can imagine.

'Tis high time then for the Friends of the Church of *England*, to think of Building up, and Establishing her, in such a manner, that she may be no more Invaded by Foreigners, nor Divided by Factions, Schisms, and Error.

IF this cou'd be done by gentle and easy Methods, I shou'd be glad, but the Wound is coroded, the Vitals begin to mortifie, and nothing but Amputation of Members can compleat the Cure, all the ways of Tenderness and Compassion, all perswasive Arguments have been made use of in vain.

THE Humour of the Dissenters has so encreas'd among the People, that they hold the Church in Defiance, and the House of God is an Abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their Posterity in such pre-possest Aversions to our Holy Religion, that the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worshippers of *Baal*; and account it a Sin to come within the Walls of our Churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shie of a Heathen-Temple, or of Meat offer'd to Idols, nor the *Jews* of Swine's-Flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the Church, and the Divine Service solemnized therein.

THIS Obstinacy must be rooted out with the Profession of it, while the Generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and Dishonour his Holy Worship, we are wanting in our Duty to God, and our Mother the Church of *England*.

How can we answer it to God, to the Church, and to our Posterity, to leave them entangled with Fanaticisme, Error, and Obstinacy, in the Bowels of the Nation; to leave them an Enemy in their Streets, that in time may involve them in the same Crimes, and endanger the utter Extirpation of Religion in the Nation.

WHAT's the Difference betwixt this, and being subjected to the Power of the Church of *Rome*, from whence we have reform'd? If one be an extreme on one Hand, and one on another, 'tis equally destructive to the Truth, to have Errors settled among us, let them be of what Nature they will.

Both are Enemies of our Church, and of our Peace, and why shou'd it not be as criminal to admit an Enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why shou'd the *Papist* with his Seven Sacraments be worse than the *Quaker*

with no Sacraments at all? Why shou'd Religious-houses be more intollerable than Meeting-houses—*Alas the Church of England!* What with Popery on one Hand, and Schismaticks on the other; how has she been Crucify'd between two Thieves.

Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves.* Let her Foundations be establish'd upon the Destruction of her Enemies: The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People: Let the Obstinate be rul'd with the Rod of Iron.

Let all true Sons of so Holy an Oppressed Mother, exasperated by her Afflictions, harden their Hearts against those who have oppress'd her.

> *And may God Almighty put it into the Hearts of all the Friends of Truth, to lift up a Standard against Pride and Antichrist, that the Posterity of the Sons of Error may be rooted out from the Face of this Land for ever—.*

FINIS.

THE PRESENT STATE OF WIT

BY JOHN GAY

JOHN GAY

1685–1732

THE PRESENT STATE OF WIT

[1711. Gay came to town from Barnstaple, his birthplace, to serve as apprentice to a silk-mercer, but quickly curtailed his indentures, and went home to recover health and spirits. Nevertheless, though London shop-life had been unbearable, the interests of the Town soon drew him back again, and he embarked upon that varied metropolitan career which was to make him the associate of nobles and notables. *The Present State of Wit*, to which initials only were appended, brought the author to the notice of so great a personage as Swift. The Dean writes to Stella, in the middle of May, 1711 : 'Dr. Freind was with me, and pulled out a twopenny pamphlet just published, called *The State of Wit*, giving a character of all the papers that have come out of late. The author seems to be a Whig, yet he speaks very highly of a paper called the *Examiner*, and says the supposed author of it is Dr. Swift. But above all things he praises the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* ; and I believe Steele and Addison were privy to the printing of it. Thus is one treated by these impudent dogs.' Swift guessed badly as to the politics of the twopenny pamphleteer.]

THE PRESENT STATE OF WIT, &c.

SIR,

YOU acquaint me in your last, that you are still so busy building at——, that your friends must not hope to see you in Town this year: at the same time, you desire me, that you may not be quite at a loss in conversation among the *beau monde* next winter, to send you an account of the present State of Wit in Town: which, without further preface, I shall endeavour to perform; and give you the histories and characters of all our Periodical Papers, whether monthly, weekly, or diurnal, with the same freedom I used to send you our other Town news.

I shall only premise, that, as you know, I never cared one farthing, either for Whig or Tory: so I shall consider our Writers purely as they are such, without any respect to which Party they belong.

Dr. KING has, for some time, lain down his monthly *Philosophical Transactions*, which the title-page informed us at first, were only to be continued as they sold; and though that gentleman has a world of Wit, yet as it lies in one particular way of raillery, the Town soon grew weary of his Writings:

though I cannot but think that their author deserves a much better fate than to languish out the small remainder of his life in the Fleet prison.

About the same time that the Doctor left off writing, one Mr. OZELL put out his *Monthly Amusement*; which is still continued: and as it is generally some French novel or play indifferently translated, it is more or less taken notice of, as the original piece is more or less agreeable.

As to our Weekly Papers, the poor *Review* [*by DANIEL DEFOE*] is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his Brothers of the Quill round, none of them will enter into a controversy with him. This fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those Wits who, as an ingenious author says, 'will endure but one skimming'.

The *Observator* was almost in the same condition; but since our party struggles have run so high, he is much mended for the better: which is imputed to the charitable assistance of some outlying friends.

These two authors might however have flourished some time longer, had not the controversy been taken up by abler hands.

The *Examiner* is a paper which all men, who speak without prejudice, allow to be well written. Though his subject will admit of no great variety; he is continually placing it in so many different lights, and endeavouring to inculcate the same thing by so many beautiful changes of expression, that men who are concerned in no Party, may read him with pleasure. His way of assuming the Question in debate is extremely artful; and his *Letter to Crassus*

is, I think, a masterpiece. As these Papers are supposed to have been written by several hands, the critics will tell you that they can discern a difference in their styles and beauties; and pretend to observe that the first *Examiners* abound chiefly in Wit, the last in Humour.

Soon after their first appearance, came out a Paper from the other side, called the *Whig Examiner*, written with so much fire, and in so excellent a style, as put the Tories in no small pain for their favourite hero. Every one cried, '*BICKERSTAFF* must be the author!' and people were the more confirmed in this opinion, upon its being so soon laid down: which seemed to shew that it was only written to bind the *Examiners* to their good behaviour, and was never designed to be a Weekly Paper.

The *Examiners*, therefore, have no one to combat with, at present, but their friend the *Medley*: the author of which Paper, though he seems to be a man of good sense, and expresses it luckily now and then, is, I think, for the most part, perfectly a stranger to fine writing.

I presume I need not tell you that the *Examiner* carries much the more sail, as it is supposed to be written by the direction, and under the eye of some Great Persons who sit at the helm of affairs, and is consequently looked on as a sort of Public Notice which way they are steering us.

The reputed author is Dr. S[WIF]T, with the assistance, sometimes, of Dr. ATT[ERBUR]Y and Mr. P[RIO]R.

The *Medley* is said to be written by Mr. OLD[MIXO]N; and supervised by Mr. MAYN[WARIN]G, who perhaps might entirely write those few Papers which are so much better than the rest.

Before I proceed further in the account of our Weekly Papers, it will be necessary to inform you that at the beginning of the winter, to the infinite surprise of all men, Mr. STEELE flang up his *Tatler*; and instead of *ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esquire*, subscribed himself RICHARD STEELE to the last of those Papers, after a handsome compliment to the Town for their kind acceptance of his endeavours to divert them.

The chief reason he thought fit to give for his leaving off writing was, that having been so long looked on in all public places and companies as the Author of those papers, he found that his most intimate friends and acquaintance were in pain to speak or act before him.

The Town was very far from being satisfied with this reason, and most people judged the true cause to be, either

> That he was quite spent, and wanted matter to continue his undertaking any longer; or
> That he laid it down as a sort of submission to, and composition with, the Government, for some past offences; or, lastly,
> That he had a mind to vary his Shape, and appear again in some new light.

However that were, his disappearance seemed to be bewailed as some general calamity. Every one wanted so agreeable an amusement, and the Coffee-houses began to be sensible that the *Esquire*'s *Lucubrations* alone had brought them more customers, than all their other News Papers put together.

It must indeed be confessed that never man threw up his pen, under stronger temptations to have employed it longer. His reputation was at a greater height, than I believe ever any living author's was

before him. It is reasonable to suppose that his gains were proportionably considerable. Every one read him with pleasure and good-will; and the Tories, in respect to his other good qualities, had almost forgiven his unaccountable imprudence in declaring against them.

Lastly, it was highly improbable that, if he threw off a Character the ideas of which were so strongly impressed in every one's mind, however finely he might write in any new form, that he should meet with the same reception.

To give you my own thoughts of this Gentleman's Writings, I shall, in the first place, observe, that there is a noble difference between him and all the rest of our Polite and Gallant Authors. The latter have endeavoured to please the Age by falling in with them, and encouraging them in their fashionable vices and false notions of things. It would have been a jest, some time since, for a man to have asserted that anything witty could be said in praise of a married state, or that Devotion and Virtue were any way necessary to the character of a Fine Gentleman. *Bickerstaff* ventured to tell the Town that they were a parcel of fops, fools, and coquettes; but in such a manner as even pleased them, and made them more than half inclined to believe that he spoke truth.

Instead of complying with the false sentiments or vicious tastes of the Age—either in morality, criticism, or good breeding—he has boldly assured them, that they were altogether in the wrong; and commanded them, with an authority which perfectly well became him, to surrender themselves to his arguments for Virtue and Good Sense.

It is incredible to conceive the effect his writings have had on the Town; how many thousand follies they have either quite banished or given a very great check to! how much countenance, they have added to Virtue and Religion! how many people they have rendered happy, by shewing them it was their own fault if they were not so! and, lastly, how entirely they have convinced our young fops and young fellows of the value and advantages of Learning!

He has indeed rescued it out of the hands of pedants and fools, and discovered the true method of making it amiable and lovely to all mankind. In the dress he gives it, it is a most welcome guest at tea-tables and assemblies, and is relished and caressed by the merchants on the Change. Accordingly there is not a Lady at Court, nor a Banker in Lombard Street, who is not verily persuaded that Captain STEELE is the greatest Scholar and best Casuist of any man in England.

Lastly, his writings have set all our Wits and Men of Letters on a new way of Thinking, of which they had little or no notion before: and, although we cannot say that any of them have come up to the beauties of the original, I think we may venture to affirm, that every one of them writes and thinks much more justly than they did some time since.

The vast variety of subjects which Mr. STEELE has treated of, in so different manners, and yet ALL so perfectly well, made the World believe that it was impossible they should all come from the same hand. This set every one upon guessing who was the *Esquire*'s friend? and most people at first fancied it must be Doctor SWIFT; but it is now no longer a secret, that his only great and constant assistant was Mr. ADDISON.

This is that excellent friend to whom Mr. STEELE owes so much; and who refuses to have his name set before those Pieces which the greatest pens in England would be proud to own. Indeed, they could hardly add to this Gentleman's reputation: whose works in Latin and English Poetry long since convinced the World, that he was the greatest Master in Europe of those two languages.

I am assured, from good hands, that all the visions, and other tracts of that way of writing, with a very great number of the most exquisite pieces of wit and raillery throughout the *Lucubrations* are entirely of this Gentleman's composing: which may, in some measure, account for that different Genius, which appears in the winter papers, from those of the summer; at which time, as the *Examiner* often hinted, this friend of Mr. STEELE was in Ireland.

Mr. STEELE confesses in his last Volume of the *Tatlers* that he is obliged to Dr. SWIFT for his *Town Shower*, and the *Description of the Morn*, with some other hints received from him in private conversation.

I have also heard that several of those *Letters*, which came as from unknown hands, were written by Mr. HENLEY: which is an answer to your query, 'Who those friends are, whom Mr. STEELE speaks of in his last *Tatler*?'

But to proceed with my account of our other papers. The expiration of *BICKERSTAFF*'s *Lucubrations* was attended with much the same consequences as the death of *MELIBŒUS*'s *Ox* in VIRGIL: as the latter engendered swarms of bees, the former immediately produced whole swarms of little satirical scribblers.

One of these authors called himself the *Growler*, and assured us that, to make amends for Mr. STEELE's silence, he was resolved to *growl* at us weekly, as long as we should think fit to give him any encouragement. Another Gentleman, with more modesty, called his paper, the *Whisperer*; and a third, to please the Ladies, christened his, the *Tell tale*.

At the same time came out several *Tatlers*; each of which, with equal truth and wit, assured us that he was the genuine *ISAAC BICKERSTAFF*.

It may be observed that when the *Esquire* laid down his pen; though he could not but foresee that several scribblers would soon snatch it up, which he might (one would think) easily have prevented: he scorned to take any further care about it, but left the field fairly open to any worthy successor. Immediately, some of our Wits were for forming themselves into a Club, headed by one Mr. HARRISON, and trying how they could shoot in this Bow of ULYSSES; but soon found that this sort of writing requires so fine and particular a manner of Thinking, with so exact a Knowledge of the World, as must make them utterly despair of success.

They seemed indeed at first to think, that what was only the garnish of the former *Tatlers*, was that which recommended them; and not those Substantial Entertainments which they everywhere abound in. According they were continually talking of their *Maid*, *Night Cap*, *Spectacles*, and CHARLES LILLIE. However there were, now and then, some faint endeavours at Humour and sparks of Wit: which the Town, for want of better entertainment, was content to hunt after, through a heap of impertinences; but even those are, at present, become

wholly invisible and quite swallowed up in the blaze of the *Spectator*.

You may remember, I told you before, that one cause assigned for the laying down the *Tatler* was, Want of Matter ; and, indeed, this was the prevailing opinion in Town : when we were surprised all at once by a paper called the *Spectator*, which was promised to be continued every day ; and was written in so excellent a style, with so nice a judgment, and such a noble profusion of Wit and Humour, that it was not difficult to determine it could come from no other hands but those which had penned the *Lucubrations*.

This immediately alarmed these gentlemen, who, as it is said Mr. STEELE phrases it, had ' the Censorship in Commission '. They found the new *Spectator* came on like a torrent, and swept away all before him. They despaired ever to equal him in Wit, Humour, or Learning ; which had been their true and certain way of opposing him : and therefore rather chose to fall on the Author ; and to call out for help to all good Christians, by assuring them again and again that they were the First, Original, True, and Undisputed *ISAAC BICKERSTAFF*.

Meanwhile, the *Spectator*, whom we regard as our Shelter from that flood of false wit and impertinence which was breaking in upon us, is in every one's hands ; and a constant topic for our morning conversation at tea-tables and coffee-houses. We had at first, indeed, no manner of notion how a diurnal paper could be continued in the spirit and style of our present *Spectators* : but, to our no small surprise, we find them still rising upon us, and can only wonder from whence so prodigious a run of Wit and Learning can proceed ; since some of our best judges

seem to think that they have hitherto, in general, outshone even the *Esquire's* first *Tatlers.*

Most people fancy, from their frequency, that they must be composed by a Society: I withal assign the first places to Mr. STEELE and his Friend.

I have often thought that the conjunction of those two great Geniuses, who seem to stand in a class by themselves, so high above all our other Wits, resembled that of two statesmen in a late reign, whose characters are very well expressed in their two mottoes, viz., *Prodesse quam conspici* [LORD SOMERS], and *Otium cum dignitate* [CHARLES MONTAGU, Earl of HALIFAX]. Accordingly the first [*ADDISON*] was continually at work behind the curtain, drew up and prepared all those schemes, which the latter still drove on, and stood out exposed to the World, to receive its praises or censures.

Meantime, all our unbiassed well-wishers to Learning are in hopes that the known Temper and prudence of one of these Gentlemen will hinder the other from ever lashing out into Party, and rendering that Wit, which is at present a common good, odious and ungrateful to the better part of the Nation.

If this piece of imprudence does not spoil so excellent a Paper, I propose to myself the highest satisfaction in reading it with you, over a dish of tea, every morning next winter.

As we have yet had nothing new since the *Spectator,* it only remains for me to assure you, that I am

Yours, *&c.,*

J. G.

Westminster, May 3, 1711.

POSTSCRIPT.

Upon a review of my letter, I find I have quite forgotten the *British Apollo* ; which might possibly have happened, from its having, of late, retreated out of this end of the Town into the country : where, I am informed however, that it still recommends itself by deciding wagers at cards, and giving good advice to shopkeepers and their apprentices.

FINIS.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

CONCERNING THE CHILDREN OF POOR PEOPLE IN IRELAND

BY JONATHAN SWIFT

JONATHAN SWIFT

1667–1745

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR PREVENTING THE CHILDREN OF POOR PEOPLE IN IRELAND FROM BEING A BURDEN TO THEIR PARENTS OR COUNTRY, AND FOR MAKING THEM BENEFICIAL TO THE PUBLIC

[1729. The people of Dublin received Swift with insults and execration in 1713. A few years later he had become a popular hero among the Irish people, fêted and acclaimed wherever he went. This remarkable change of temper was brought about by Swift's impassioned espousal of the Irish cause against the English policy of cynical exploitation. The anonymous *Drapier's Letters* (begun in 1724) led to the prosecution of the printer, to the offering of a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author, and to a first-class political commotion. Swift made public acknowledgement of the authorship of the Letters on receiving the freedom of the city of Dublin in the year the *Modest Proposal* was published. Although this pamphlet created less stir than other of his Irish writings, it is perhaps the most masterly example of Swift's command of a corrosive irony—which, in its vitriolic coldness, is more deliberately deadly than any imaginable blast of white-hot passion.]

A MODEST PROPOSAL

For preventing the Children of poor People in Ireland from being a Burthen to their Parents or Country, and for making them Beneficial to the Publick.

IT is a melancholly Object to those, who walk through this great Town or travel in the Country, when they see the *Streets,* the *Roads,* and *Cabbin-Doors* crowded with *Beggars* of the Female Sex, followed by three, four, or six Children, *all in Rags,* and importuning every Passenger for an Alms. These *Mothers* instead of being able to work for their honest livelyhood, are forced to employ all their time in Stroling to beg Sustenance for their *helpless Infants,* who, as they grow up, either turn *Thieves* for want of work, or leave their *dear Native Country, to fight for the Pretender in Spain,* or sell themselves to the *Barbadoes.*

I think it is agreed by all Parties, that this prodigious number of Children in the Arms, or on the Backs, or at the *heels* of their *Mothers,* and frequently of their *Fathers,* is *in the present deplorable state of the Kingdom,* a very great additional grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap and easy method of making these Children sound and useful Members of the common-wealth would deserve so well of the publick, as to have his Statue set up for a preserver of the Nation.

But my Intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the Children of *professed Beggers*, it is of a much greater Extent, and shall take in the whole Number of Infants at a certain Age, who are born of Parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our Charity in the Streets.

As to my own part, having turned my Thoughts, for many Years, upon this important Subject, and maturely weighed the several *Schemes of our Projectors*, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a Child *just dropt from it's Dam*, may be supported by her Milk, for a Solar Year with little other Nourishment, at most not above the Value of two Shillings, which the Mother may certainly get, or the Value in *Scraps*, by her lawful Occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one Year Old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as, instead of being a Charge upon their *Parents*, or the *Parish*, or *wanting Food and Raiment* for the rest of their Lives, they shall, on the Contrary, contribute to the Feeding and partly to the Cloathing of many Thousands.

There is likewise another great Advantage in my Scheme, that it will prevent those *voluntary Abortions*, and that horrid practice of *Women murdering their Bastard Children*, alas! too frequent among us, Sacrificing the *poor innocent Babes*, I doubt, more to avoid the Expence than the Shame, which would move Tears and Pity in the most Savage and inhuman breast.

The number of Souls in this Kingdom being usually reckoned one Million and a half, Of these

I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand Couple whose Wives are Breeders; from which number I subtract thirty Thousand Couples, who are able to maintain their own Children, although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under *the present Distresses of the Kingdom*; but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand Breeders. I again Subtract fifty Thousand, for those Women who miscarry, or whose Children die by accident, or disease within the Year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand Children of poor Parents annually born: The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared, and provided for, which, as I have already said, under the present Situation of Affairs, is utterly impossible by all the Methods hitherto proposed; for we can *neither employ them in Handicraft* or *Agriculture*; we neither build Houses, (I mean in the Country) nor cultivate Land: They can very seldom pick up a Livelyhood *by Stealing* till they arrive at six years Old; except where they are of towardly parts; although, I confess, they learn the Rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *Probationers*, as I have been informed by a principal Gentleman in the County of *Cavan*, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two Instances under the Age of six, even in a part of the Kingdom *so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that Art.*

I am assured by our Merchants, that a Boy or a Girl before twelve years Old, is no saleable Commodity, and even when they come to this Age, they will not yield above three Pounds, or three Pounds and half a Crown at most on the Exchange, which

cannot turn to Account either to the Parents or Kingdom, the Charge of Nutriment and Rags having been at least four times that Value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own Thoughts, which I hope will not be lyable to the least Objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing *American* of my acquaintance in *London*, that a young healthy Child well Nursed is at a year Old a most delicious nourishing and wholesome Food, whether *Stewed, Roasted, Baked,* or *Boiled,* and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a *Fricasie,* or a *Ragoust.*

I do therefore humbly offer it to *publick consideration,* that of the Hundred and twenty thousand Children, already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for Breed, whereof only one fourth part to be Males ; which is more than we allow to *Sheep, black Cattle,* or *Swine,* and my Reason is, that these Children are seldom the Fruits of Marriage, *a Circumstance not much regarded by our Savages,* therefore, *one Male* will be sufficient to serve *four Females.* That the remaining Hundred thousand may at a year Old be offered in Sale to the *Persons of Quality* and *Fortune* through the Kingdom, always advising the Mother to let them Suck plentifully in the last Month, so as to render them Plump, and Fat for a good Table. A Child will make two Dishes at an Entertainment for Friends, and when the Family dines alone, the fore or hind Quarter will make a reasonable Dish, and seasoned with a little Pepper or Salt will be very good Boiled on the fourth Day, especially in *Winter.*

I have reckoned upon a Medium, that a Child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar Year if tolerably nursed, encreaseth to 28 Pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for Landlords*, who, as they have already devoured most of the Parents seem to have the best Title to the Children.

Infants' flesh will be in Season throughout the Year, but more plentiful in *March*, and a little before and after, for we are told by a grave Author an eminent *French* Physician, that *Fish being a prolifick Dyet*, there are more Children born in *Roman Catholick Countries* about nine Months after *Lent*, than at any other Season, therefore reckoning a Year after *Lent*, the Markets will be more glutted than usual, because the Number of *Popish Infants*, is at least three to one in this Kingdom, and therefore it will have one other Collateral advantage, by lessening the Number of *Papists* among us.

I have already computed the Charge of nursing a Begger's Child (in which list I reckon all *Cottagers*, *Labourers*, and four fifths of the *Farmers*) to be about two Shillings *per Annum*, Rags included, and I believe no Gentleman would repine to give Ten Shillings for the *Carcass of a good fat Child*, which, as I have said will make four Dishes of excellent Nutritive Meat, when he hath only some particular Friend, or his own Family to Dine with him. Thus the Squire will learn to be a good Landlord, and grow popular among his Tenants, the Mother will have Eight Shillings net profit, and be fit for Work till she produces another Child.

Those who are more thrifty (*as I must confess the Times require*) may flea the *Carcass*; the Skin of which, Artificially dressed, will make admirable *Gloves for Ladies*, and *Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*.

As to our City of *Dublin*, Shambles may be appointed for this purpose, in the most convenient parts of it, and Butchers we may be assured will not be wanting, although I rather recommend buying the Children alive, and dressing them hot from the Knife, as we do *roasting Pigs*.

A very worthy Person, *a true Lover of his Country*, and whose Virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my Scheme. He said, that many Gentlemen of this Kingdom, having of late destroyed their Deer, he conceived that the want of Venison might be well supplyed by the Bodies of young Lads and Maidens, not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, nor under twelve, so great a Number of both Sexes in every Country being now ready to Starve, for want of Work and Service; And these to be disposed of by their Parents if alive, or otherwise by their nearest Relations. But with due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a Patriot, I cannot be altogether in his Sentiments, for as to the Males, my *American* acquaintance assured me from frequent Experience, that their flesh was generally Tough and Lean, like that of our Schoolboys, by continual exercise; and their Taste disagreeable, and to Fatten them would not answer the Charge. Then as to the Females, it would, I think with humble Submission, *be a loss to the Publick*, because they soon would become Breeders them-

selves: And besides it is not improbable that some scrupulous People might be apt to Censure such a Practice, (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon Cruelty, which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any Project, how well so ever intended.

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed, that this expedient was put into his Head by the famous *Sallmanaazor*, a Native of the Island *Formosa*, who came from thence to *London*, above twenty Years ago, and in Conversation told my Friend, that in his Country when any young Person happened to be put to Death, the Executioner sold the Carcass to *Persons of Quality*, as a prime Dainty, and that, in his Time, the Body of a plump Girl of fifteen, who was crucifyed for an attempt to Poison the Emperor, was sold to his Imperial *Majesty's prime Minister of State*, and other great *Mandarins* of the Court, *in Joints from the Gibbet*, at four hundred Crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young Girls in this Town, who, without one single Groat to their Fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a Chair, and appear at a *Play-House*, and *Assemblies* in Foreign fineries, which they never will pay for; the Kingdom would not be the worse.

Some Persons of a desponding Spirit are in great concern about that vast Number of poor People, who are Aged, Diseased, or Maimed, and I have been desired to imploy my Thoughts what Course may be taken, to ease the Nation of so grievous an Incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are

every Day *dying*, and *rotting*, by *cold* and *famine*, and *filth*, and *vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young Labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a Condition. They cannot get Work, and consequently pine away for want of Nourishment, to a degree, that if at any Time they are accidentally hired to common Labour, they have not strength to perform it, and thus the Country and themselves are happily delivered from the Evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my Subject, I think the Advantages by the Proposal which I have made are obvious and many, as well as of the highest Importance.

For *First*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen *the Number of Papists*, with whom we are Yearly over-run, being the principal Breeders of the Nation, as well as our most dangerous Enemies, and who stay at home on purpose with a Design *to deliver the Kingdom to the Pretender*, hoping to take their Advantage by the Absence *of so many good Protestants*, who have chosen rather to leave their Country, than stay at home, and pay Tithes against their Conscience, to an *Episcopal Curate*.

Secondly, the poorer Tenants will have something valuable of their own which by Law may be made lyable to Distress, and help to pay their Landlord's Rent, their Corn and Cattle being already seized, and *Money a Thing unknown*.

Thirdly, whereas the Maintenance of an hundred thousand Children, from two Years old, and upwards, cannot be computed at less than Ten Shillings a piece

per Annum, the Nation's Stock will be thereby encreased fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, besides the Profit of a new Dish, introduced to the Tables of all *Gentlemen of Fortune* in the Kingdom, who have any Refinement in Taste, and the Money will circulate among our Selves, the Goods being entirely of our own Growth and Manufacture.

Fourthly, The constant Breeders, beside the gain of eight Shillings Ster. *per Annum*, by the Sale of their Children, will be rid of the Charge of maintaining them after the first Year.

Fifthly, This Food would likewise bring great *Custom to Taverns*, where the Vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best Receipts for dressing it to Perfection, and consequently have their Houses frequented by all the *fine Gentlemen*, who justly value themselves upon their Knowledge in good Eating, and a skillful Cook, who understands how to oblige his Guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great Inducement to Marriage, which all wise Nations have either encouraged by Rewards, or enforced by Laws and Penalties. It would encrease the Care and Tenderness of Mothers towards their Children, when they were sure of a Settlement for Life, to the poor Babes, provided in some sort by the Publick, to their Annual Profit instead of Expence ; we should soon see an honest Emulation among the married Women, ***which of them could bring the fattest Child to the Market.*** Men would become as *fond* of their Wives, during the Time of their Pregnancy, as they are now of their

Mares in Foal, their *Cows* in Calf, or *Sows* when they are ready to farrow, nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too *frequent* a Practice) for fear of a Miscarriage.

Many other Advantages might be enumerated. For Instance, the Addition of some thousand Carcasses in our Exportation of Barrell'd Beef. The Propagation of *Swines Flesh*, and Improvement in the Art of making good *Bacon*, so much wanted among us by the great Destruction of Pigs, too frequent at our Tables, which are no way comparable in Taste, or Magnificence to a well grown, fat Yearling Child, which roasted whole will make a considerable Figure at a *Lord Mayor's Feast*, or any other Publick Entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit being studious of Brevity.

Supposing that one thousand Families in this City, would be constant Customers for Infants Flesh, besides others who might have it at *merry Meetings*, particularly at *Weddings* and *Christenings*, I compute that *Dublin* would take off Annually about twenty thousand Carcases, and the rest of the Kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty Thousand.

I can think of no one Objection, that will possibly be raised against this Proposal, unless it should be urged that the Number of People will be thereby much lessened in the Kingdom. This I freely own, and 'twas indeed one principal Design in offering it to the World. I desire the Reader will observe, that I calculate my Remedy *for this one individual Kingdom of IRELAND, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think, ever can be upon Earth.* Therefore let

no Man talk to me of other Expedients: *Of taxing our Absentees at five Shillings a Pound: Of using neither Cloaths, nor Houshold Furniture, except what is our own Growth and Manufacture: Of utterly rejecting the Materials and Instruments that promote Foreign Luxury: Of curing the Expensiveness of Pride, Vanity, Idleness, and Gaming in our Women; Of introducing a Vein of Parcimony, Prudence and Temperance: Of learning to love our Country, wherein we differ even from* LAPLANDERS, *and the Inhabitants of* TOPINAMBOO: *Of quitting our Animosities, and Factions, nor act any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very Moment their City was taken: Of being a little cautious not to sell our Country and Consciences for nothing: Of teaching Landlords to have at least one Degree of Mercy towards their Tenants. Lastly, Of putting a Spirit of Honesty, Industry, and Skill into our Shopkeepers, who, if a Resolution could now be taken to buy only our Native Goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the Price, the Measure, and the Goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair Proposal of just Dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.*

Therefore I repeat, let no Man talk to me of these and the like Expedients, till he hath at least some Glimpse of Hope, that there will be ever some hearty and sincere Attempt to put *them in Practice.*

But as to my self, having been wearied out for many Years with offering vain, idle, visionary Thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of Success, I fortunately fell upon this Proposal, which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something Solid and Real,

of no Expence and little Trouble, full in our own Power, and whereby we can incur no Danger in *disobliging ENGLAND.* For this kind of Commodity will not bear Exportation, the Flesh being of too tender a Consistence, to admit a long Continuance in Salt, *although perhaps I cou'd name a Country, which would be glad to eat up our whole Nation without it.*

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own Opinion, as to reject any Offer, proposed by wise Men, which shall be found equally Innocent, Cheap, Easy, and Effectual. But before something of that Kind shall be advanced in Contradiction to my Scheme, and offering a better, I desire the Author or Authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two Points. *First,* As Things now stand, how they will be able to find Food and Raiment for a hundred Thousand useless Mouths and Backs. And *Secondly,* There being a round Million of Creatures in Humane Figure, throughout this Kingdom, whose whole Subsistence put into a common Stock, would leave them in Debt two Millions of Pounds *Ster.* adding those, who are Beggers by Profession, to the Bulk of Farmers, Cottagers and Labourers, with their Wives and Children, who are Beggers in Effect ; I desire those Politicians, who dislike my Overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an Answer, that they will first ask the Parents of these Mortals, Whether they would not at this Day think it a great Happiness to have been sold for Food at a Year Old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual Scene of Misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the *Oppression of Land-lords,* the Impossi-

bility of paying Rent without Money or Trade, the Want of common Sustenance, with neither House nor Cloaths to cover them from these Inclemencies of Weather, and the most inevitable Prospect of intailing the like, or greater Miseries, upon their Breed for ever.

I profess in the Sincerity of my Heart, that I have not the least Personal Interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary Work, having no other Motive than the *Publick Good of my Country, by advancing our Trade, providing for Infants, relieving the Poor, and giving some Pleasure to the Rich.* I have no Children, by which I can propose to get a single Penny; the youngest being nine Years Old, and my Wife past Child-bearing.

FINIS.

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN & IMPORTANCE OF SMALL TRACTS & FUGITIVE PIECES

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

SAMUEL JOHNSON

1709–84

THE ORIGIN AND IMPORTANCE OF SMALL TRACTS AND FUGITIVE PIECES

[1744. Though not in the formal sense either a pamphlet or a tract, this piece is accommodated in the present Miscellany for reasons indicated in the Preface. It was written by Johnson as an Introduction to Osborne's edition of the *Harleian Miscellany*, published in eight 4to volumes.]

AN ESSAY ON THE
ORIGIN AND IMPORTANCE OF SMALL TRACTS AND FUGITIVE PIECES

THOUGH the scheme of the following *Miscellany* is so obvious, that the Title alone is sufficient to explain it ; and though several Collections have been formerly attempted upon Plans, as to the Method, very little, but, as to the capacity and Execution, very different from Ours ; We, being possessed of the greatest Variety for such a Work, hope for a more general Reception than those confined Schemes had the Fortune to meet with ; and, therefore, think it not wholly unnecessary to explain our Intentions, to display the Treasure of Materials, out of which this *Miscellany* is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general Idea of the Pieces which we intend to insert in it.

There is, perhaps, no Nation, in which it is so necessary, as in our own, to assemble, from Time to Time, the *small* Tracts and *fugitive* Pieces, which are occasionally published : for, besides the general Subjects of Enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned Nation, our Constitution in Church and State naturally gives Birth to a Multitude of Performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other Place.

The *Form* of our *Government*, which gives every Man, that has Leisure, or Curiosity, or Vanity, the

Right of enquiring into the Propriety of publick Measures; and, by Consequence, obliges those, who are intrusted with the Administration of *National* Affairs, to give an Account of their Conduct, to almost every Man, who demands it, may be reasonably imagined to have occasioned *innumerable* Pamphlets, which would never have appeared under *arbitrary* Governments, where every Man lulls himself in Indolence under Calamities, of which he cannot promote the Redress, or thinks it prudent to conceal the Uneasiness of which he cannot complain without Danger.

The Multiplicity of *Religious Sects* tolerated among us, of which every one has found Opponents and Vindicators, is another Source of unexhaustible Publication, almost peculiar to ourselves; for, *Controversies* cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an *Inquisitor* has a Right to shut up the Disputants in dungeons; or where Silence can be imposed on either Party, by the Refusal of a *Licence.*

Not that it should be inferred from hence, that *Political* or *Religious* Controversies are the *only* Products of the *Liberty* of the *British Press*; the Mind once let loose to Enquiry, and suffered to operate without Restraint, necessarily deviates into peculiar Opinions, and wanders in new Tracks, where she is indeed sometimes lost in a Labyrinth, from which, tho' she cannot return, and scarce knows how to proceed; yet, sometimes, makes useful Discoveries, or finds out nearer Paths to Knowledge.

The boundless Liberty, with which every Man may write his own Thoughts, and the Opportunity of conveying new Sentiments to the publick, without

Danger of suffering either Ridicule or Censure, which every Man may enjoy, whose Vanity does not incite him too hastily to own his Performances, naturally invites those, who employ themselves in Speculation, to try how their Notions will be received by a Nation, which exempts Caution from Fear, and Modesty from Shame; and it is no Wonder, that where Reputation may be gained, but needs not be lost, Multitudes are willing to try their Fortune, and thrust their Opinions into the Light, sometimes with unsuccessful Haste, and sometimes with happy Temerity.

It is observed, that, among the Natives of *England*, is to be found a greater Variety of Humour, than in any other Country; and, doubtless, where every Man has a full Liberty to propagate his Conceptions, Variety of Humour must produce Variety of Writers; and, where the Number of Authors is so great, there cannot but be some worthy of Distinction.

All these and many other Causes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make *Pamphlets* and *small Tracts* a very *important* Part of an *English* Library; nor are there any Pieces, upon which those, who aspire to the Reputation of *judicious* Collectors of Books, bestow more Attention, or greater Expence; because many Advantages may be expected from the Perusal of these small Productions, which are scarcely to be found in that of larger Works.

If we regard *History*, it is well known, that most *Political* Treatises have for a long Time appeared in this Form, and that the first Relations of Transactions, while they are yet the Subject of Conversation, divide the Opinions, and employ the Conjectures of Mankind, are delivered by these *petty* Writers, who

have Opportunities of collecting the different Sentiments of Disputants, of enquiring the Truth from living Witnesses, and of copying their Representations from the Life; and, therefore, they preserve a Multitude of particular Incidents, which are forgotten in a short Time, or omitted in formal Relations, and which are yet to be considered as Sparks of Truth, which, when united, may afford Light in some of the darkest Scenes of State, as, we doubt not, will be sufficiently proved in the Course of this *Miscellany*; and which it is, therefore, the *Interest* of the Publick to preserve unextinguished.

The same Observation may be extended to Subjects of yet more Importance. In controversies that relate to the truths of religion, the first essays of reformation are generally timorous; and those, who have opinions to offer, which they expect to be opposed, produce their sentiments, by degrees; and for the most part in *small Tracts*: By Degrees that they may not shock their readers with too many novelties at once; and in *small Tracts*, that they may be easily dispersed, or privately printed; almost every controversy, therefore, has been, for a time, carried on in pamphlets, nor has swelled into larger volumes, till the first ardor of the disputants has subsided, and they have recollected their notions with coolness enough to digest them into order, consolidate them into systems, and fortify them with authorities.

From *Pamphlets*, consequently, are to be learned the *Progress* of every debate; the various State, to which the questions have been changed; the artifices and fallacies, which have been used; and the subterfuges, by which reason has been eluded: In such writings may be seen how the mind has been

opened by degrees, how one truth has led to another, how error has been disentangled, and hints improved to demonstration. Which pleasure, and many others are lost by him, that only reads the *larger Writers*, by whom these scattered sentiments are collected, who will see none of the changes of fortune, which every opinion has passed through, will have no opportunity of remarking the transient advantages, which error may sometimes obtain, by the artifices of its patron, or the successful rallies, by which truth regains the day, after a repulse ; but will be to him, who traces the dispute through, into particular gradations, as he that hears of a victory, to him that sees the battle.

Since the advantages of preserving these *small Tracts* are so numerous ; our attempt to unite them in volumes cannot be thought either *useless* or *unseasonable* ; for there is *no other* method of securing them from accidents ; and they have already been so long neglected, that this design cannot be delayed, without hazarding the loss of many pieces, which deserve to be transmitted to another age.

The practice of publishing pamphlets, on the most important subjects, has now prevailed more than *two Centuries* among us ; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large collections have been yet made, many curious tracts must have perished ; but it is too late to lament that loss ; nor ought we to reflect upon it, with any other view, than that of quickening our endeavours, for the preservation of those that yet remain, of which we have now a *greater Number*, than was, perhaps, ever amassed by any *one* person.

The first appearance of pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new opposition raised

against the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome.* Those, who were first convinced of the reasonableness of the *New Learning,* as it was then called, propagated their opinions in small pieces, which were cheaply printed; and, what was then of great importance, easily concealed. These treatises were generally printed in foreign countries, and are not, therefore, always very correct. There was not then that opportunity of printing in *private,* for, the number of printers were small, and the presses were easily overlooked by the clergy, who spared no labour or vigilance for the suppression of *Heresy.* There is, however, reason to suspect, that some attempts were made to carry on the propagation of truth by a *secret* press; for one of the first treatises, in favour of the Reformation, is said, at the end, to be printed *at Greenwich, by the Permission of the Lord of Hosts.*

In the time of king *Edward the Sixth,* the presses were employed in favour of the *Reformed* Religion, and *small Tracts* were dispersed over the nation, to reconcile them to the new forms of worship. In this reign, likewise, *Political* pamphlets may be said to have been begun, by the address of the rebels of *Devonshire;* all which means of propagating the sentiments of the people so disturbed the court, that no sooner was queen *Mary* resolved to reduce her subjects to the *Romish* superstition; but she artfully, by a *Charter* [1] granted to certain freemen of *London,* in whose fidelity, no doubt, she confided, intirely prohibited *all* presses, but what should be

[1] Which begins thus, KNOW YE, that WE considering, and manifestly perceiving, that several *seditious* and *heretical* books or *Tracts*—against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of holy mother, the church, &c.

licensed by them; which charter is that by which the corporation of *Stationers*, in *London*, is at this time incorporated.

Under the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when liberty again began to flourish, the practice of writing pamphlets became more general; presses were multiplied, and books more dispersed; and, I believe, it may properly be said, that the *Trade of Writing* began at this time, and that it has ever since gradually increased in the number, though, perhaps, not in the Stile of those that followed it.

In this reign, was erected the first *secret* press against the church as now Established, of which I have found any certain account. It was employed by the *Puritans*, and conveighed from one part of the nation to another, by them, as they found themselves in danger of discovery. From this press issued most of the pamphlets against *Whitgift*, and his associates, in the Ecclesiastical government; and, when it was at last seized at *Manchester*, it was employed upon a pamphlet, called, *MORE WORK FOR A COOPER*.

In the peaceable reign of king *James*, those minds, which might, perhaps, with less disturbance of the world, have been engrossed by war, were employed in controversy; and writings of all kinds were multiplied among us. The press, however, was not wholly engaged in polemical performances, for more innocent subjects were sometimes treated; and it deserves to be remarked, because it is not generally known, that the treatises of *Husbandry* and *Agriculture*, which were published about that time, are so numerous, that it can scarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were sold.

The next reign is too well known to have been

a time of confusion, and disturbance, and disputes of every kind; and the writings, which were produced, bear a natural proportion to the number of the questions that were discussed at that time; each party had its authors, and its presses, and no endeavours were omitted to gain proselytes to every opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called, *The Age of Pamphlets*; for, though they, perhaps, may not arise to such multitudes as Mr. *Rawlinson* imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an opportunity of examining them.

After the Restoration, the same differences, in Religious Opinions, are well known to have subsisted, and the same Political Struggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore a great number of pens were employed, on different occasions, till, at length, all other disputes were absorbed in the *Popish* controversy.

From the pamphlets which these different periods of time produced, it is proposed, that this *Miscellany* shall be compiled; for which it cannot be supposed that materials will be wanting, and, therefore, the only difficulty will be in what manner to dispose them.

Those who have gone before us, in undertakings of this kind, have ranged the pamphlets, which chance threw into their hands, without any regard either to the subject on which they treated, or the time in which they were written; a practice, in no wise, to be imitated by us, who want for no materials; of which we shall chuse those we think best for the *particular* circumstances of *times* and *things*, and most instructing and entertaining to the reader.

Of the different methods which present themselves, upon the first view of the great heaps of

pamphlets, which the *Harleian Library* exhibits, the two which merit most attention, are to distribute the treatises according to their *subjects* or their *dates* ; but neither of these ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our collection in *Order of Time*, we must necessarily publish those pieces first, which least engage the curiosity of the bulk of mankind, and our design must fall to the ground for want of encouragement, before it can be so far advanced as to obtain general regard : By confining ourselves for any long time to any *single Subject*, we shall reduce our readers to one class, and, as we shall lose all the grace of variety, shall disgust all those who read chiefly to be diverted. There is likewise one objection of equal force, against both these methods, that we shall preclude ourselves from the advantage of any future discoveries, and we cannot hope to assemble at once all the pamphlets which have been written in any age or on any subject.

It may be added, in vindication of our intended practice, that it is the same with that of *Photius*, whose collections are no less Miscellaneous than ours ; and who declares, that he leaves it to his reader, to reduce his extracts under their proper heads.

Most of the pieces, which shall be offered in this collection to the publick, will be introduced by short prefaces, in which will be given some account of the reasons for which they are inserted ; notes will be sometimes adjoined for the explanation of obscure passages, or obsolete expressions ; and care will be taken to mingle use and pleasure through the whole collection. Notwithstanding *every Subject* may not be relished by *every Reader* ; yet the buyer may be assured that each number will repay his generous subscription.

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS

BY JOHN WESLEY

JOHN WESLEY

1703–91

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS

[1749. Wesley's first paragraph, opposite, sufficiently describes the manner in which his pamphlet originated. Written as a letter to the Rev. Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, Kent, it was issued to the public at threepence, printed by Felix Farley of Bristol, 'and sold at the School Room in the Horse-Fair : Also by T. Trye, near Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn ; and at the Foundry near Upper-Moor-Fields, London '.]

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS

Rev^d and Dear Sir,

1. Some Time since you desired an account of the *whole Oeconomy* of the People commonly call'd *Methodists.* And you received a True, (as far as it went) but not Full Account. To supply what I think was wanting in That, I send you this Account: That you may know not only their *Practice,* on every Head, but likewise the *Reasons* whereon it is grounded, the *Occasion* of every Step they have taken, and the *Advantages* reaped thereby.

2. But I must premise, That as they had not the least *Expectation* at first, of any Thing like what has since follow'd, so they had no previous Design or Plan at all, but every Thing arose just as the Occasion offer'd. They saw or felt some impending or pressing Evil, or some Good End necessary to be pursued. And many Times they fell unawares on the very Thing, which secured the Good, or removed the Evil. At other Times they consulted on the most probable Means, following only *Common Sense* and *Scripture*: Tho' they generally found, in looking back, some Thing in *Christian Antiquity* likewise, very nearly parallel thereto.

I. 1. Above Ten Years ago, my Brother and I

were desired, to preach in many Parts of *London.* We had no View therein, but so far as we were able (and we knew GOD *cou'd* work by whomsoever it pleased Him) To *convince* those who wou'd hear, What True Christianity was, and to *persuade* them to embrace it.

2. The Points we chiefly insisted upon were Four : First, that *Orthodoxy* or *Right Opinions* is, at best, but a very slender *Part* of Religion, if it can be allowed to be any Part of it at all : That neither does Religion consist in *Negatives,* in bare Harmlessness of any Kind ; nor merely in *Externals,* in doing Good or using the Means of Grace, in Works of Piety (so called) or of Charity : That it is nothing short of or different from *The Mind that was in* CHRIST, The *Image of* GOD upon the Heart, Inward *Righteousness* ; attended with the *Peace* of GOD, and *Joy in the Holy Ghost.* Secondly, That the only Way under Heaven to this Religion, is to *repent and believe the Gospel,* or (as the Apostle words it) *Repentance towards* GOD, *and Faith in our* LORD JESUS CHRIST : Thirdly, That by this Faith, *He that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the Ungodly,* is justified *freely by His Grace, thro' the Redemption which is in* JESUS CHRIST : And Lastly, That *being justified by Faith,* we taste of the Heaven to which we are going : We are Holy and Happy : We tread down Sin and Fear, and *sit in Heavenly Places with* CHRIST JESUS.

3. Many of those who heard this, began to cry out, That we brought *Strange Things to their Ears* : That this was Doctrine which they never heard before, or, at least, never regarded. They *searched the Scriptures, whether these Things were so,* and acknowledged *the Truth as it is in* JESUS. Their Hearts also were influenced as well as their Under-

standings, and they determined to follow JESUS CHRIST *and Him Crucified.*

4. Immediately they were surrounded with Difficulties: All the World rose up against them: Neighbours, Strangers, Acquaintance, Relations, Friends, began to cry out amain: '*Be not righteous overmuch: Why shouldst thou destroy thyself?* Let not *much Religion make thee mad.*'

5. One and another came to Us, asking, What should they do? Being distressed on every Side, as every one strove to weaken, and none to strengthen their Hands in GOD. We advised them, 'Strengthen you one another. Talk together as often as you can. And pray earnestly, with and for one another, That you may *endure to the End and be saved.*' Against this Advice we presumed there could be no Objection; as being grounded on the plainest Reason, and on so many Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the New, that it wou'd be tedious to recite them.

6. They said, 'But we want *You* likewise to talk with us often, to direct and quicken us in our Way, to give us the Advices which you well know we need, and to pray with us, as well as for us.' I ask'd, Which of you desires this? Let me know your Names and Places of Abode. They did so. But I soon found, they were too many for me to talk with severally so often as they wanted it. So I told them, 'If you will all of you come together, every *Thursday*, in the Evening, I will gladly spend some Time with you in Prayer, and give you the best Advice I can.'

7. Thus arose, without any previous Design on either Side, what was afterwards called *A Society*: A very Innocent Name, and very Common in

London, for any Number of People, *associating* themselves together. The Thing proposed in their associating themselves together, was obvious to every one. They wanted to *flee from the Wrath to come*, and to assist each other in so doing. They therefore united themselves 'in order to pray together, to receive the Word of Exhortation, and to watch over one another in Love, that they might help each other to work out their Salvation'.

8. 'There is One only Condition previously required, in those who desire Admission into this Society, *A Desire to flee from the Wrath to come, and to be saved from their Sins.* But wherever this Desire is fixt in the Soul, it will be shewn by its Fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their Desire of Salvation.

'First, By doing no Harm, by avoiding Evil in every kind; especially that which is most generally practised.

('Such as, The taking the Name of God in vain; The profaning the Day of the Lord; Drunkenness; Fighting, Quarrelling, Brawling; The Buying or Selling *uncustomed* Goods; The doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; Uncharitable or Unprofitable Conversation, particularly, Speaking evil of Magistrates or Ministers:)

'Secondly, By doing Good, by being in every kind merciful after their Power; As they have Opportunity doing Good of every possible Sort, and as far as it is possible to all Men:

'By all possible *Diligence* and *Frugality*, that the Gospel be not blamed:

'By submitting to bear the Reproach of Christ to be as *the Filth and Off-scouring* of the World, and

looking that Men should *say all manner of Evil of them falsely* for their LORD's Sake :

'Thirdly, By attending upon all the Ordinances of GOD :

'Such as, The Publick Worship of GOD, The Supper of the LORD, Private Prayer, Searching the Scriptures, and Fasting or Abstinence.'

They now likewise agreed, That as many of them as had Opportunity, wou'd meet together every *Friday*, and spend the Dinner Hour in crying to GOD, both for each other and for all Mankind.

9. It quickly appear'd, That their thus uniting together, answer'd the End proposed therein. In a few Months the far greater Part of those who had begun to *fear* GOD *and work Righteousness*, but were not united together, grew faint in their Minds, and fell back into what they were before. Mean while the far greater Part of those, who were thus united together, continued *striving to enter in at the strait Gate*, and to *lay hold on Eternal Life*.

10. Upon Reflection, I could not but observe, This is the very Thing which was from the Beginning of Christianity. In the earliest Times, those whom GOD had sent forth, *preached the Gospel to every Creature*. And the οἱ ακροαταὶ, the Body of Hearers, were mostly *Jews* or Heathens. But as soon as any of these were so convinced of the Truth, as to forsake Sin and seek the Gospel Salvation, they immediately joined themselves together, took an Account of their Names, advised them to watch over each other, and met these κατηχούμενοι (Catechumens, as they were then called) apart from the Great Congregation, that they might instruct, rebuke, exhort, and pray with them and for them, according to their several Necessities.

11. But it was not long before an Objection was made to this, which had not once enter'd into my Thought. 'Is not this making a Schism? Is not the joining these People together, *Gathering Churches out of Churches?*'

It was easily answer'd, If you mean only *Gathering People out of Buildings called Churches*, it is. But if you mean, dividing Christians from Christians, and so destroying Christian Fellowship, it is not. For Ist. These were not Christians before they were thus join'd. Most of them were barefac'd heathens. 2. Neither are they Christians, from whom you suppose them to be divided. You will not look me in the Face and say They are. What! Drunken Christians? Cursing and Swearing Christians? Lying Christians? Cheating Christians? If these are Christians at all, they are *Devil Christians* (as the poor Malabarians term them). 3. Neither are they divided any more than they were before, even from these wretched *Devil-Christians*, They are as ready as ever to assist them, and to perform every Office of real Kindness toward them. 4. If it be said, 'But there are some True Christians in the Parish, and you destroy the Christian Fellowship between these and Them.' I answer, That which never existed, cannot be destroy'd. But the Fellowship you speak of, never existed. Therefore, it cannot be destroy'd. Which of those True Christians had any such Fellowship with these? Who watched over them in Love? Who mark'd their Growth in Grace? Who advised and exhorted them from Time to Time? Who pray'd with them and for them as they had Need? This, and this alone is Christian Fellowship: But alas! Where is it to be found? Look *East* or *West*, *North* or *South*: Name

what Parish you please. Is this Christian Fellowship there? Rather, are not the Bulk of the Parishioners, a mere Rope of Sand? What Christian Connexion is there between them? What Intercourse in Spiritual Things? What Watching over each others Souls? What bearing of one anothers Burdens? What a mere Jest is it then, to talk so gravely, of *destroying* what never was? The real Truth is, just the Reverse of this: We *introduce* Christian Fellowship where it was *utterly destroy'd.* And the Fruits of it have been Peace, Joy, Love, and Zeal for every Good Word and Work.

II. 1. But as much as we endeavour'd to watch over each other, we soon found some who did not *live the Gospel.* I do not know, that any Hypocrites were crept in; for indeed there was no Temptation. But several grew cold, and gave Way to the Sins which had long easily beset them. We quickly perceiv'd there were many ill Consequences of suffering these to remain among us. It was dangerous to others; inasmuch as all Sin is of an infectious Nature. It brought such a Scandal on their Brethren, as exposed them to what was not properly The Reproach of CHRIST. It laid a Stumbling-block in the Way of Others, and caused the Truth to be evil-spoken of.

2. We groaned under these Inconveniences long, before a Remedy could be found. The People were scattered so wide in all Parts of the Town, from *Wapping* to *Westminster*, that I cou'd not easily see, what the Behaviour of each Person in his own Neighbourhood was. So that several disorderly Walkers did much Hurt, before I was apprized of it.

3. At length, while we were thinking of quite

another Thing, we struck upon a Method for which we have Cause to bless GOD ever since. I was talking with several of the Society in *Bristol,* concerning the Means of paying the Debts there; when one stood up and said, 'Let every Member of the Society give a *Penny* a Week 'till all are paid.' Another answered, 'But many of them are poor, and cannot afford to do it.' 'Then said he, Put Eleven of the Poorest with me, and if they can give any Thing, well. I will call on them weekly, and if they give Nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself. And each of you, call on Eleven of your Neighbours weekly: Receive what they give, and make up what is wanting.' It was done. In a While some of these inform'd me, 'They found, such and such an one did not live as he ought.' It struck me immediately, 'This is the Thing: The very Thing we have wanted so long.' I call'd together all the *Leaders* of the *Classes,* (so we used to term them and their Companies) and desired That each wou'd make a particular Enquiry, into the Behaviour of those whom he saw weekly. They did so. Many disorderly Walkers were detected. Some turned from the Evil of their Ways. Some were put away from us. Many saw it with Fear, and rejoiced unto GOD with Reverence.

4. As soon as possible the same Method was used in *London* and all other Places. Evil Men were detected, and reproved. They were borne with for a Season. If they forsook their Sins, we receiv'd them gladly: If they obstinately persisted therein, it was openly declared, That they were not of us. The rest mourn'd and pray'd for them, and yet rejoiced, That as far as in us lay, the Scandal was roll'd away from the Society.

5. It is the Business of a Leader.

I. To see each Person in his Class, once a Week at the least: In order,
To enquire how their Souls prosper?
To advise, reprove, comfort or exhort, as Occasion may require;
To receive what they are willing to give, toward the Relief of the Poor.

II. To meet the Minister and the Stewards of the Society, in order,
To inform the Minister of any that are Sick, or of any that are disorderly and will not be reproved;
To pay to the Stewards what they have receiv'd of their Several Classes in the Week preceding.

6. At first they visited each Person at his own House: But this was soon found not so expedient. And that on many Accounts. 1. It took up more Time, than most of the Leaders had to spare. 2. Many Persons lived with Masters, Mistresses or Relations, who would not suffer them to be thus visited. 3. At the Houses of those who were not so averse, they had often no Opportunity of speaking to them but in Company. And this did not at all answer the End proposed, of exhorting, comforting or reproving. 4. It frequently happen'd, That one affirm'd what another denied. And this cou'd not be clear'd, without seeing them both together: 5. Little Misunderstandings and Quarrels of various Kinds, frequently arose among Relations or Neighbours: Effectually to remove which it was needful to see them all Face to Face. Upon all these Considerations it was agreed, That those of each Class

should meet all together. And by this Means, a more Full Enquiry was made, into the Behaviour of every Person. Those who cou'd not be visited at Home, or no otherwise than in Company, had the same Advantage with others. Advice or Reproof was given as need required; Quarrels made up, Misunderstandings removed. And after an Hour or two spent in this Labour of Love, they concluded with Prayer and Thanksgiving.

7. It can scarce be conceiv'd, what Advantages have been reap'd from this little Prudential Regulation. Many now happily experienced that Christian Fellowship, of which they had not so much as an Idea before. They began to *bear one another's Burthens*, and *naturally* to *care for each other*. As they had daily a more intimate Acquaintance with, so they had a more endear'd Affection for each other. And *speaking the Truth in Love, they grew into Him in all Things, which is the Head, even* CHRIST: *From whom the whole Body, fitly join'd together, and compacted by that which every Joint supplied, according to the effectual Working in the Measure of every Part, increas'd unto the Edifying itself in Love.*

8. But notwithstanding all these Advantages, many were at first extremely averse to meeting thus. Some, viewing it in a wrong Point of Light, not as a *Privilege* (indeed an Invaluable one) but rather a *Restraint*, disliked it on that Account, Because they did not love to be restrain'd in any Thing. Some were *ashamed* to speak before Company. Others honestly said, 'I don't know why; but I *don't like* it.'

9. Some objected, 'There were no such Meetings, when I came into the Society first. And why should

there now? I don't understand these Things, and this changing one Thing after another continually.' It was easily answer'd, 'Tis Pity but they had been at first. But we knew not then either the Need or the Benefit of them. Why we use them, You will readily understand, if you read over the Rules of the Society. That with Regard to these little Prudential Helps we are continually changing one Thing after another, it is not a Weakness or Fault (as you imagine) but a peculiar Advantage which we enjoy. By this Means we declare them all to be merely Prudential, not Essential, not of Divine Institution. We prevent so far as in us lies, their growing Formal and Dead. We are always open to Instruction; willing to be wiser every Day than we were before, and to change whatever we can change for the better.

10. Another Objection was, 'There is no Scripture for this, for Classes and I know not what.' I answer, 1. There is no Scripture *against* it. You cannot shew One Text which forbids them. 2. There is much Scripture *for* it, even all those Texts which enjoin the Substance of those various Duties, whereof this is only an indifferent Circumstance, to be determined by Reason and Experience. 3. You seem not to have observ'd, That the Scripture in most Points, gives only *General* Rules; And leaves the *Particular* Circumstances to be adjusted, by the Common Sense of Mankind. The Scripture (for Instance) gives that *General* Rule, *Let all Things be done decently and in Order.* But Common Sense is to determine on *Particular* Occasions, What Order and Decency require. So, in another Instance, the Scripture lays it down, as a *General*, standing Direction, *Whether ye Eat or Drink or whatsoever ye do, do*

all to the Glory of God. But it is Common Prudence which is to make the Application of this, in a Thousand *Particular* Cases.

11. 'But these, said another, are all *Man's Inventions.*' This is but the same Objection in another Form. And the same Answer will suffice for any Reasonable Person. These are Man's Inventions. And what then? That is, They are Methods, which Men have found, by Reason and Common Sense, for the more effectually applying several Scriptural Rules, couch'd in General Terms, to particular Occasions.

12. They spoke far more plausibly than these, who said, 'The Thing is well enough in itself. But the *Leaders* are insufficient for the Work. They have neither Gifts nor Grace for such an Employment.' I answer, 1. Yet such Leaders as they are, it is plain God has blessed their Labour. 2. If any of these is remarkably wanting in Gifts or Grace, he is soon taken Notice of and removed. 3. If you know any such, tell it to *me*, not to others, and I will endeavour to exchange him for a better. 4. It may be hoped, they will all be better than they are, both by Experience and Observation, and by the Advices given them by the Minister every *Tuesday* Night, and the Prayers (then in particular) offerr'd up for them.

III. 1. About this Time, I was inform'd, That several Persons in *Kingswood*, frequently met together at the School, and (when they cou'd spare the Time) spent the greater Part of the Night, in Prayer and Praise and Thanksgiving. Some advised me to put an End to this: But upon weighing the Thing thoroughly, and comparing it with the Practice of the Antient Christians, I could see no Cause to forbid it. Rather, I believ'd, it might be made of

more General Use. So I sent them Word, ' I design'd to watch with them, on the *Friday* nearest the Full-Moon, that we might have Light thither and back again.' I gave publick Notice of this, the *Sunday* before, and withall, That I intended to preach: Desiring, They and they only would meet me there, who could do it without Prejudice to their Business or Families. On *Friday* abundance of People came. I began Preaching between *Eight* and *Nine*; and we continued 'till a little beyond the Noon of Night, Singing, Praying and Praising God.

2. This we have continued to do once a Month ever since, in *Bristol*, *London*, and *Newcastle* as well as *Kingswood*. And exceeding great are the Blessings we have found therein: It has generally been an extremely Solemn Season; when the Word of God sunk deep into the Heart, even of those who 'till then knew Him not. If it be said, ' This was only owing to the Novelty of the Thing, (the Circumstance which still draws such Multitudes together at those Seasons) or perhaps to the awful Silence of the Night,' I am not careful to answer in this Matter. Be it so: However, the Impression made on many Souls, has never since been effaced. Now allowing, that God did make Use either of the Novelty or any other indifferent Circumstance, in order to bring Sinners to Repentance, yet they are brought. And herein let us rejoice together.

3. Nay, May I not put the Case farther yet? If I can probably conjecture, That either by the Novelty of this *Antient* Custom, or by any other indifferent Circumstance, it is in my Power to *save a Soul from Death, and hide a Multitude of Sins*: Am I clear before God if I do it not? If I do not snatch that Brand out of the Burning?

IV. 1. As the Society increased, I found it requir'd still greater Care, to separate the precious from the vile. In order to this, I determin'd, at least once in three Months, to talk with every Member myself, and to inquire at their own Mouths, as well as of their Leaders and Neighbours, Whether they grew in Grace and in the Knowledge of our LORD JESUS CHRIST? At these Seasons I likewise particularly enquire, Whether there be any Mis-understandings or Differences among them? That every Hindrance of Peace and brotherly Love, may be taken out of the Way.

2. To each of those, of whose Seriousness and Good Conversation I found no Reason to doubt, I gave them a Testimony under my own Hand, by writing their Name on a *Ticket* prepared for that Purpose: Every Ticket implying as strong a Recommendation of the Person to whom it was given, as if I had wrote at length, 'I believe the Bearer hereof to be one that fears GOD and works Righteousness.'

3. Those who bore these Tickets (these *Σύμβολα* or *Tesseræ*, as the Antients term'd them; being of just the same Force with the *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαὶ*, *Commendatory Letters* mention'd by the Apostle) where-ever they came, were acknowledg'd by their Brethren, and received with all Chearfulness. These were likewise of Use in other Respects. By these it was easily distinguish'd when the Society were to meet a-part, who were Members of it and who not. These also supplied us with a quiet and inoffensive Method, of removing any Disorderly Member. He has no New Ticket, at the Quarterly Visitation; (for so often the Tickets are changed) and hereby it is immediately known, That he is no longer of this Community.

V. The Thing which I was afraid of all this Time, and which I resolv'd to use every possible Method of preventing, was, A Narrowness of Spirit, a Party-Zeal, a being straiten'd in our own Bowels; That miserable Bigotry, which makes many so unready to believe, That there is any Work of God but among themselves. I thought it might be a Help against this, frequently to read, to all who were willing to hear, The Accounts I receiv'd from Time to Time, of the Work which God is carrying on in the Earth, both in our own and other Countries, not among us alone, but among those of various Opinions and Denominations. For this I allotted One Evening in every Month. And I find no Cause to repent my Labour. It is generally a Time of strong Consolation to those who love God, and all Mankind for his Sake: As well as of breaking down the Partition Walls, which either the Craft of the Devil, or the Folly of Men has built up: And of encouraging every Child of God to say, (O when shall it once be?) *Whosoever doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven, the same is my Brother and Sister and Mother.*

VI. 1. By the Blessing of God upon their Endeavours to help one another, many found the Pearl of great Price, Being justified by Faith, they had the *Peace with* God, *thro' our* Lord Jesus Christ. These felt a more tender Affection than before, to those who were Partakers of like precious Faith: And hence arose such a Confidence in each other, that they pour'd out their Souls into each other's Bosom. Indeed they had great Need so to do: For the War was not over, as they had supposed. But they had still to wrestle both with Flesh and Blood, and with Principalities and Powers: So

that Temptations were on every Side: And often Temptations of such a Kind, as they knew not how to speak in a Class; in which Persons of every Sort, young and old, Men and Women, met together.

2. These therefore wanted some Means of closer Union: They wanted to pour out of their Hearts without Reserve; particularly with Regard to the Sin which did still *easily beset* them, and the Temptations which were most apt to prevail over them. And they were the more desirous of this, when they observ'd, it was the Express Advice of an inspired Writer, *Confess your Faults one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed.*

3. In compliance with their Desire, I divided them into smaller Companies; putting Married or Single Men, and Married or Single Women together. The chief Rules of these *Bands* (*i. e.* Little Companies; so that Old *English* Word signifies) run thus:

In order to *confess our Faults to one another and* pray one for another that we may be healed, we intend

'1. To meet once a Week, at the least;
2. To come punctually at the Hour appointed;
3. To begin with Singing or Prayer;
4. To speak each of us in Order, freely and plainly, the true State of our Soul, with all the Faults we have committed in Thought, Word or Deed, and the Temptations we have felt since our last Meeting:
5. To desire some Person among us (thence called a *Leader*) to speak *his* own State first, and then to ask the rest in order, as many, and as searching Questions as may be, concerning their State, Sins and Temptations.'

4. That their Design in meeting might be the more effectually answered, I desired all the Men-*Bands* to meet me altogether every Wednesday Evening, and the Women on *Sunday*; That they might receive such Particular Instructions, and such Exhortations, as from Time to Time, might appear to be most needful for them: That such Prayers might be offer'd up to God, as their Necessities should require: And Praise return'd to the Giver of every Good Gift, for whatever Mercies they had receiv'd.

5. In order to increase in them a grateful Sense of all his Mercies, I desired that One Evening in a Quarter, all the Men; on a Second, all the Women wou'd meet; and on a Third, both Men and Women together; That we might together *eat Bread* (as the Antient Christians did) with *Gladness and Singleness of Heart.* At these *Love Feasts* (so we term'd them, retaining the Name, as well as the Thing, which was in Use from the Beginning) our Food only a little plain Cake and Water. But we seldom return from them, without being fed not only with *the Meat which perisheth,* but with *that which endureth to everlasting Life.*

6. Great and many are the Advantages which have ever since flow'd, from this closer Union of the Believers with each other. They pray'd for one another, that they might be healed of the Faults they had confest: And it was so. The Chains were broken: The Bands were burst in sunder, and Sin had no more Dominion over them. Many were deliver'd from the Temptations, out of which 'till then they had found no Way to escape. They were built up in our most holy Faith. They rejoiced in the Lord more abundantly. They were strengthen'd

in Love, and more effectually provoked to abound in every Good Work.

7. But it was soon objected to the *Bands* (as to the *Classes* before) ' These were not at first. There is no Scripture for them. These are Man's Works, Man's Building, Man's Invention.' I reply, as before, these are also Prudential Helps, grounded on Reason and Experience, in order to apply the General Rules given in Scripture, according to Particular Circumstances.

8. An objection much more boldly and frequently urged, is That ' all these Bands are mere *Popery* '. I hope I need not pass a harder Censure on those, (most of them at least) who affirm this, than that they talk of they know not what, that they betray in themselves the most gross and shameful Ignorance. Do not they yet know, That the only *Popish* Confession is, the Confession made by a single Person to a Priest? (And is in no wise condemn'd by our Church; nay, she recommends it in some Cases) whereas that *we* practice is, The Confession of several Persons conjointly, not to a Priest, but to each other. Consequently, it has no Analogy at all to *Popish* Confession. But the Truth is, This is a stale Objection, which many people make against any Thing they do not like. It is all *Popery* out of Hand.

VII. 1. And yet while most of these who were thus intimately join'd together, went on daily from Faith to Faith; some fell from the Faith, either all at once, by falling into Known, Wilful Sin: Or gradually and almost insensibly, by giving Way in what they call'd little Things; by Sins of Omission, by yielding to Heart Sins, or by not Watching unto Prayer. The Exhortations and Prayers used among the

Believers, did no longer profit these. They wanted Advice and Instructions suited to their Case : Which as soon as I observ'd, I separated from the rest, and desired them to meet me a-part on *Saturday* Evenings.

2. At this Hour, all the Hymns, Exhortations and Prayers, are adapted to their Circumstances : Being wholly suited to those, who *did* see GOD, but have now lost the Light of his Countenance : And who mourn after Him, and refuse to be comforted, 'till they know He has heal'd all their Backsliding.

3. By applying both the Threats and Promises of GOD, to these Real (not Nominal) *Penitents*, and by crying to GOD in their Behalf, we endeavour'd to bring them back to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of their Souls : Not by any of the Fopperies of the *Roman* Church, altho' in some Measure countenanced by Antiquity. In prescribing Hair-Shirts and Bodily Austerities, we durst not follow even the Antient Church : Altho' we had unawares, both in dividing οἱ πιστοὶ the Believers from the rest of the Society, and in separating the *Penitents* from Them, and appointing a peculiar Service for them.

VIII. 1. Many of these soon recovered the Ground they had lost. Yea, they rose the Higher for their Fall : Being now more watchful than ever, and more Meek and Lowly, as well as stronger in the Faith that worketh by Love. They now out-ran the greater Part of their Brethren, continually walking in the Light of GOD, and having Fellowship with the Father, and with his Son, JESUS CHRIST.

2. I saw it might be useful to give some Advices to all those, who thus continued in the Light of GOD's Countenance, which the rest of their Brethren

did not want, and probably could not receive. So I desired a small Number of such as appear'd to be in this State, to spend an Hour with me every *Monday* Morning. My Design was, Not only, to direct them, How to *press after Perfection*; to exercise their every Grace, and improve every Talent they had receiv'd; and to incite them to love one another more, and to watch more carefully over each other: But also to have a *Select Company*, to whom I might unbosom myself on all Occasions, without Reserve: And whom I could propose to all their Brethren as a pattern of Love, of Holiness, and of all Good Works.

3. They had no Need of being incumber'd with many Rules: Having the Best Rule of all in their Hearts. No peculiar Directions were therefore given to Them: Excepting only these Three.

First, Let nothing spoken in this Society, be spoken again. (Hereby we had the more full Confidence in each other.)

Secondly, every Member agrees, To submit to his Minister in all Indifferent Things.

Thirdly, Every Member will bring once a Week, all he can spare toward a Common Stock.

4. Every one here has an equal Liberty of speaking, there being none greater or less than another. I could say freely to these, when we were met together. *Ye may all Prophesy one by one* (taking that Word in it's lower Sense) *that all may learn and all may be comforted.* And I often found the Advantage of such a free Conservation, and that *in a Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety.* Any who is inclined so to do, is likewise encouraged, to pour out his Soul to God. And here especially we

have found that the effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much.

IX. 1. This the Plainest and Clearest Account I can give of The *People*, commonly call'd *Methodists*. It remains only, to give you a short Account, of those who *serve* their Brethren in Love. There are *Leaders* of Classes and Bands (spoken of before) *Assistants*, *Stewards*, *Visitors* of the Sick, and School-masters.

2. In the Third Part of the *Appeal*, I have mention'd, How we are led to accept of *Lay-Assistants*. Their Office is, in the Absence of the Minister,

1. To expound every Morning and Evening :
2. To meet the United Society, the Bands, the Select Society, and the Penitents once a week :
3. To visit the Classes (*London* and *Bristol excepted*) once a Month :
4. To hear and decide all Differences :
5. To put the Disorderly back on Trial, and to receive on Trial for the Bands or Society :
6. To see that the Stewards, the Leaders, and the School-masters faithfully discharge their several Offices :
7. To meet the Leaders of the Bands and Classes weekly, and the Stewards, and to over-look their Accounts.

3. I think, he must be no Fool, who has *Gifts* sufficient for these Things : As neither can he be void of the *Grace* of God, who is able to observe the Rules of an Assistant, which are these that follow :

'1. Be diligent. Never be unemploy'd a Moment. Never be triflingly employ'd. Never *while away* Time. Neither spend any more Time at any Place than is strictly necessary.

2. Be serious. Let your Motto be, Holiness to the LORD. Avoid all Lightness, as you wou'd avoid Hell-fire.
3. Believe Evil of no one. If you *see* it done, well: Else take Heed how you credit it. Put the best Construction on every Thing. You know, the Judge is always supposed to be on the Prisoner's Side.
4. Speak Evil of no one. Else *your* Word especially wou'd eat as doth a Canker. Keep your Thoughts within your own Breast, 'till you come to the Person concern'd.
5. Tell every one what you think wrong in him and that plainly and as soon as may be. Else it will fester in your Heart. Make all Haste to cast the Fire out of your Bosom.
6. Do nothing as a Gentleman. You have no more to do with this Character than with that of a Dancing-master. You are the Servant of all. Therefore
7. Be ashamed of nothing but Sin; Not of hewing of Wood, if Time permit, or drawing Water.
8. Take no Money of any one. If they give you Food when you are hungry, or Cloaths when you need them, it is Good: But not Silver or Gold. Let there be no Pretence to say, We grow rich by the Gospel.
9. Be Punctual. Do every Thing exactly at the Time.
10. Act in all Things, not according to your own Will, but as *a Son in the Gospel.*'

4. In order to try these, before we can receive them as *Assistants*, we require,

First, Do they know in whom they have believed? Have they the Love of GOD in their Hearts?

Do they desire to seek nothing but God? And are they Holy in all Manner of Conversation?

Secondly, Have they *Gifts*, as well as *Grace*, for the Work? Have they (in some tolerable Degree) a clear, sound Understanding? Have they a Right just Conception of Salvation by Faith?—And has God given them any Degree of Utterance? Can they express themselves justly, readily, clearly?

Thirdly, Have they *Success*? Do they not only so speak (where Trial was made) as to convince and affect the Hearers? But have any received Remission of Sins by their Means? A clear and lasting Sense of the Love of God?

5. Those in whom these Three Marks undeniably concur, we gladly receive to assist us in the Work. And these we advise, 1. Always to rise at Four. 2. From Four to Five in the Morning, and from Five to Six in the Evening, partly to use Meditation and Private Prayer; partly to read the Scripture; partly some close Practical Book of Divinity: Such as, The Life of God in the Soul of Man, The Christian Pattern, Bishop *Beverege*'s Private Thoughts, Mr. *Law*'s Practical Works, Dr. *Heylin*'s Devotional Tracts, The Life of Mr. *Halyburton* and of Mr. *de Renty*. 3. From Six in the Morning till Twelve, to read, in order, slowly, and with much Prayer, Bp. *Pearson* on the Creed, Bp. *Fell* on the Epistles, Mr. *Boehm*'s and Mr. *Nalson*'s Sermons, Mr. *Pascal*'s Thoughts, *Cave*'s and *Fleury*'s Primitive Christianity, and *Echard*'s Ecclesiastical History.

And we believe they who thro'ly digest only these few Books, will *know* enough to save both their own Souls and those that hear them.

X. 1. But long before this, I felt the Weight of far different Care, namely, Care of Temporal Things. The Quarterly Subscriptions amounted, at a mean Computation, to above *Three Hundred Pounds* a Year. This was laid out, partly in Repairs, partly in other necessary Expences, and partly in paying Debts. The Weekly Contributions fell little short of *Eight Pounds* a Week; which was to be distributed as every one had Need. And I was expected to take Thought for all these Things: But it was a Burthen I was not able to bear. So I chose out first, *One*, then *Four*, and after a Time, *Seven* as Prudent Men as I knew, and desired them to take the Charge of these Things upon themselves, that I might have no Incumbrance of this Kind.

2. The Business of these *Stewards* is

To manage the Temporal Things of the Society;
To receive the Subscriptions and Contributions;
To expend what is needful from Time to Time;
To send Relief to the Poor;
To keep an exact Account of all Receipts and Expences;
To inform the *Minister* if any of the Rules of the Society are not punctually observ'd;
To tell the *Assistants* in Love, if they think any Thing amiss, either in their Doctrine or Life.

3. The Rules of the Stewards are,

1. Be Frugal. Save every Thing that can be saved honestly.
2. Spend no more than you receive. Contract no Debts.
3. Have no long Accounts. Pay every Thing within the Week.
4. Give none that asks Relief either an ill Word,

or an ill Look. Do not hurt them, if you cannot help.

5. Expect Thanks from no Man.

4. They met together at *Six* every *Thursday* Morning: Consulted on the Business which came before them: Sent Relief to the Sick, as every one had Need, and gave the Remainder of what had been contributed each Week, to those who appear'd to be in the most pressing Want. So that all was concluded within the Week; what was brought on *Tuesday* being constantly expended on *Thursday*. I soon had the Pleasure to find, that all these Temporal Things, were done with the utmost Faithfulness and Exactness. So that my cares of this kind were at an End. I had only to revise the Accounts, to tell them, if I thought any Thing might be amended, and to consult how Deficiences might be supplied from Time to Time. For these were frequent and large (so far were we from Abundance) the Income by no means answering the Expences. But that we might not faint, sometimes we had Unforeseen Helps, in Times of the Greatest Perplexity. At other Times we borrowed, larger or smaller Sums. Of which the greatest Part has since been repaid. But I owe some Hundred-Pounds to this Day. So much have I *gain'd* by Preaching the Gospel!

XI. 1. But it was not long before the Stewards found a great Difficulty, with regard to the Sick. Some were ready to perish, before they knew of their Illness. And when they did know, it was not in their Power, (being Persons generally employ'd in Trade) to visit them so often as they desired.

2. When I was apprized of this, I laid the Case at large before the whole Society: Shew'd, How impossible it was, for the *Stewards* to attend all that

were sick in all Parts of the Town: Desired the *Leaders* of *Classes* wou'd more carefully inquire, and more constantly inform them, Who were sick; and ask'd, 'Who among you is willing as well as able, to supply their Lack of Service?'

3. The next Morning, many willingly offer'd themselves. I chose Six and Forty of them, whom I judg'd to be of the most tender, loving Spirit; Divided the Town into Twenty-three Parts, and desired Two of them to visit the Sick in each Division.

4. It is the Business of a *Visitor* of the Sick,

To see every sick Person within his District thrice a Week;
To enquire into the State of their Souls, and advise them, as Occasion may require;
To enquire into their Disorders, and procure Advice for them;
To relieve them, if they are in Want;
To do any Thing for them, which he (or she) can do;
To bring in his Accounts weekly to the Stewards.

Upon Reflection, I saw, How exactly in this also, we had copied after the Primitive Church. What were the Antient Deacons? What was *Phebe* the *Deaconess*, but such a *Visitor* of the Sick?

5. I did not think it needful to give them any Particular Rules, beside those that follow:

1. Be plain and open in dealing with Souls;
2. Be mild, tender, patient;
3. Be cleanly in all you do for the Sick;
4. Be not nice.

6. We have ever since had great Reason to praise God, for his continued Blessing on this Undertaking. Many Lives have been saved: Many Sicknesses

heal'd, Much Pain and Want prevented or removed. Many heavy Hearts have been made glad; many Mourners comforted. And the *Visitors* have found from Him they serve, a present Reward for all their Labour.

XII. 1. But I was still in Pain for many of the Poor that were sick: There was so great Expence, and so little Profit. And first, I resolv'd to try, Whether they might not receive more Benefit in the *Hospitals*. Upon the Trial, we found, there was indeed less Expence: But no more Good done than before. I then ask'd the Advice of several Physicians for them: But still it profited not. I saw the poor People pining away, and several Families ruin'd, and that without Remedy.

2. At length I thought of a kind of desperate Expedient. 'I will prepare, and give them Physick myself.' For *Six* or *Seven* and *Twenty* years, I had made Anatomy and Physick the Diversion of my leisure Hours: Tho' I never properly studied them, unless for a few Months, when I was going into *America*, where I imagined I might be in some Service to those, who had no Regular Physician among them. I applied to it again. I took into my Assistance an Apothecary, and an experienced Surgeon: Resolving, at the same Time, not to go out of my Depth; but to leave all Difficult and Complicated Cases, to such Physicians as the Patients should chuse.

3. I gave Notice of this to the Society: Telling them, that all who were ill of *Chronical* Distempers (for I did not care to venture upon *Acute*) might, if they pleas'd, come to me at such a Time: And I would give them the best Advice I could, and the best Medicines I had.

4. Many came: (And so every Friday since.) Among the Rest was one *William Kirkman*, a *Weaver*, near *Old-Nichol*-Street. I ask'd him, 'What Complaint have you?' 'O Sir, said he, a Cough, a very sore Cough. I get no Rest Day nor Night.' I ask'd. 'How long have you had it?' He replied, 'About *Threescore* Years: It began when I was *Eleven* Years old.' I was nothing glad, that this Man should come first: fearing our not curing him, might discourage others. However I look'd up to God and said, 'Take this *three* or *four* Times a Day. If it does you no Good, it will do you no Harm.' He took it *two* or *three* Days. His Cough was cured: And has not returned to this Day.

5. Now let Candid Men judge, Does Humility require me to deny a notorious Fact? If not, which is *Vanity*? To say, *I* by my own Skill, restored this Man to Health? Or to say, God did it by his Own Almighty Power? By what Figure of Speech this is call'd, *Boasting*, I know not. But I will put no Name on such a Fact as this. I leave that to the Rev^{d}. Dr. *Middleton*.

6. In five Months, Medicines were occasionally given, to above Five Hundred Persons, several of these I never saw before; for I did not regard, Whether they were of the Society or not. In that Time Seventy-one of these, regularly taking their Medicines, and following the Regimen prescribed (which Three in Four wou'd not do) were entirely cured, of Distempers long thought to be incurable. The whole Expence of Medicines during this Time, was, (nearly) *Forty Pounds*. We continued this ever since, and by the Blessing of God, with more and more Success.

XIII. 1. But I had for some Years observ'd many

who altho' not sick, were not able to provide for themselves, and had none who took Care to provide for them: These were chiefly, Feeble, aged Widows. I consulted with the *Stewards*, How they might be reliev'd? They all agreed. If we could keep them in one House, it wou'd not only be far less Expensive to us, but also far more Comfortable for them. Indeed we had no Money to begin. But we believed He wou'd provide, *who defendeth the Cause of the Widow.* So we took a Lease of Two little Houses near: We fitted them up, so as to be warm and clean. We took in as many Widows as we had Room for, and provided them with Things needful for the Body: Toward the Expence of which I set aside, First, The Weekly Contributions of the *Bands*, and then All that is collected at the Lord's Supper. It is true this does not suffice: So that we are still considerably in Debt, on this Account also. But we are persuaded, it will not always be so: Seeing *the Earth is the* LORD's *and the Fulness thereof.*

2. In this (commonly called *The Poor-House*) we have now *Nine* Widows. *One* Blind-woman, *Two* Poor Children, *Two* Upper Servants, a Maid and a Man. I might add *Four* or *Five* Preachers. For I myself, as well as the other Preachers who were in Town, Diet with the Poor, on the same Food and at the same Table. And we rejoice herein as a Comfortable Earnest, of our eating Bread together in our Father's Kingdom.

3. I have blest GOD for this House, ever since it began: But lately much more than ever. I honour these Widows; for they *are Widows indeed.* So that it is not in vain, that without any Design of so doing, we have copied after Another of the Institutions of the Apostolic Age. I can now say to all the World,

'Come, and see, How these Christians love one another!'

XIV. 1. Another Thing, which had given me frequent Concern, was the Case of abundance of Children. Some their Parents could not afford to put to School. So they remain'd like *a wild Ass's Colt*. Others were sent to School, and learn'd at least, to read and write: But they learnt all Kind of Vice at the same Time: So that it had been better for them to have been without their Knowledge, than to have bought it at so dear a Price.

2. At length I determined, To have them taught in my own House; That they might have an Opportunity of learning to read, write and cast Accompts (if no more) without being under almost a Necessity, of learning Heathenism at the same Time. And after several unsuccessful Trials, I found Two such School-Masters as I wanted. Men of Honesty, and of sufficient Knowledge; who had Talents for, and their Hearts in the Work.

3. They have now under their Care, near Sixty Children: The Parents of some pay for their Schooling, but the greater Part, being very poor, do not; so that the Expence is chiefly defray'd by Voluntary Contributions. We have of late cloathed them too, as many as wanted. The Rules of the School are these that follow:

First, No Child is admitted under Six Years of Age:

Secondly, All the Children to be present at the Morning Sermon:

Thirdly, They are at School from Six to Twelve, and from One to Five:

Fourthly, They have no Play-Days:

Fifthly, No Child is to speak in School, but to the Masters :

Sixthly, The Child who misses Two Days in One Week, without Leave, is excluded the School.

4. We appointed Two Stewards for the School also. The Business of these is :

To receive the School Subscriptions, and expend what is needful :

To talk with each of the Masters weekly :

To pray with and exhort the Children twice a Week :

To enquire diligently, Whether they grow in Grace and in Learning, and whether the Rules are punctually observed :

Every *Tuesday* Morning, in Conjunction with the Masters, to exclude those Children that do not observe the said Rules :

Every *Wednesday* Morning to meet with, and exhort their Parents, To train them up at Home in the Ways of God.

5. An happy Change was soon observ'd in the Children, both with Regard to their Tempers and Behaviour. They learnt Reading, Writing and Arithmetick swiftly ; At the same Time they were diligently instructed, in the sound Principles of Religion, and earnestly exhorted to fear God and work out their own Salvation.

XV. 1. A Year or two ago, I observ'd among many a Distress of another kind. They frequently wanted, perhaps in order to carry on their Business, a present Supply of Money. They scrupled to make Use of a *Pawn-Broker* : But where to borrow it they knew not. I resolv'd to try if we could not find a Remedy for this also. I went (in a few Days) from one End

of the Town to the other; And exhorted those who had this World's Goods, to assist their needy Brethren. *Fifty Pounds* were contributed. This was immediately lodged in the Hands of *Two* Stewards: Who attended every *Tuesday* Morning, in order to lend to those who wanted, any small Sum, not exceeding *Twenty Shillings*, to be repaid within *three* Months.

2. It is almost incredible, but it manifestly appears from their Accounts, that with this inconsiderable Sum *Two Hundred* and *Fifty* have been assisted, within the space of *One* Year. Will not GOD put it into the Heart of some Lover of Mankind, to increase this little Stock? If this is not *Lending unto the* LORD, what is? O confer not with Flesh and Blood, but immediately, 'Join Hands with GOD, to make a poor Man live.'

3. I think, Sir, now You know all, that I know of this People. You see the Nature, Occasion and Design, of whatever is practised among them. And I trust, you may be pretty well able to answer any Questions, which may be ask'd concerning them: Particularly by those, who inquire concerning *my Revenue*, and What I do with it all?

4. Some have supposed, This was no greater than that of the Bishop of *London*. But others computed, That I receiv'd *Eight Hundred* a Year from *Yorkshire* only. Now if so, it cannot be so little as *Ten Thousand Pounds*, which I receive out of all England!

5. Accordingly a Gentleman in *Cornwall* (the Rector of R——) extends the Calculations pretty considerably. 'Let me see, said he: *Two Millions* of *Methodists*: And each of these paying *Two-pence* a Week.' If so I must have *Eight Hundred* and

Sixty-Six Thousand Pounds (with some odd *Shillings* and *Pence*) a Year.

6. A Tolerable Competency! But be it more or less, 'tis nothing at all to *me*. All that is contributed or collected in every Place, is both received and expended by Others: Nor have I so much as *the Beholding thereof with my Eyes*. And so it will be, 'till I turn *Turk* or *Pagan*. For I look upon all this Revenue, be it what it may, as Sacred to GOD and the Poor: (Out of which, if I want any Thing, I am reliev'd, even as another poor Man.) So were originally all Ecclesiastical Revenues (as every Man of Learning knows) And the Bishops and Priests *used* them only, *as such*. If any use them otherwise now, GOD help them!

7. I doubt not, but if I err in this, or any other Point, You will pray GOD to shew me his Truth. To *have a Conscience void of Offence toward* GOD *and toward Man*, is the Desire of,

Reverend and Dear SIR,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

FINIS.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS

BY THOMAS PAINE

THOMAS PAINE

1737–1809

THE AMERICAN CRISIS

[1776. Paine left England in 1774, with letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin. For a year and a half following, he edited the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and in January 1776 published *Common Sense*, a pamphlet advocating the establishment of an American Republic. He fought with the colonists in the War of Independence, and at a time when things were going badly wrote this first of a series of tracts bearing as a general title, *The American Crisis*. The one here printed was read to dejected American units in the field, and its effect was electrical. *Common Sense* had done much to further the Independence movement; *The Crisis* was amazingly influential in stiffening the sinews of the insurgents at an hour when success seemed far off.]

THE AMERICAN CRISIS

THESE are the times that try men's souls: the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: 'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as *Freedom* should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (*not only to tax*) but '*to bind us in all cases whatsoever*', and if being *bound in that manner* is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to GOD.

Whether the Independence of the Continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependant state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own;[1] we have none to

[1] 'The present winter' (meaning the last) 'is worth an age, if rightly employed: but if lost or

blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet; all that Howe has been doing for this month past is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys a year ago would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution wil soon recover.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that GOD Almighty will not give up a peope to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedy to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Nether have I so much of the infidel in me, as to supose, that *He* has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; aid as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the kig of Britain can look up to Heaven for help agains us: A common murderer, a highwayman, or a buse-breaker, has as good a pretence as he.

'Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will ometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them; Britain has trmbled like an ague at the report of a French fleet f flat-bottomed boats; and in the fourteenth centry the whole English army, after ravaging the kindom of France, was driven back like men petrifid with fear; and this brave exploit was performed y a few broken forces collected and headed by a voman, Joan of Arc. Would that Heaven migh inspire

neglected, the whole Continent shall partae of the evil: and there is no punishment that maidoes not deserve, be he who, or what, or where hevill, that may be the means of sacrificing a season precious and useful.' COMMON SENSE.

some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow-sufferers from ravage and ravishment! Yet panicks, in some cases, have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short: the mind soon grows through them, and acquires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy, and bring things and men to light, which might otherwise have lain forever undiscovered. In fact, they have the same effect on secret traitors, which an imaginary apparition would have upon a private murderer. They sift out the hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world. Many a disguised Tory has lately shewn his head, that shall penitentially solemnize with curses the day on which Howe arrived upon the Delaware.

As I was with the troops at fort Lee, and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania, I am well acquainted with many circumstances, which those, who live at a distance, know but little or nothing of. Our situation there was exceedingly cramped, the place being on a narrow neck of land, between the North river and the Hackensack. Our force was inconsiderable, being not one fourth so great as Howe could bring against us. We had no army at hand to have relieved the garrison, had we shut ourselves up and stood on the defence. Our ammunition, light artillery, and the best part of our stores, had been removed upon the apprehension that Howe would endeavour to penetrate the Jerseys, in which case fort Lee could be of no use to us; for it must occur to every thinking man, whether in the army or not, that these kind of field forts are only for temporary purposes, and last in use no longer than

the enemy directs his force against the particular object, which such forts are raised to defend. Such was our situation and condition at fort Lee on the morning of the 20th of November when an officer arrived with information, that the enemy with 200 boats, had landed about seven miles above: Major-General Green, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered them under arms, and sent expresses to his Excellency General Washington at the town of Hackensack, distant by the way of the ferry six miles. Our first object was to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, which laid up the river between the enemy and us, about six miles from us and three from them. General Washington arrived in about three quarters of an hour, and marched at the head of the troops towards the bridge, which place I expected we should have a brush for; however they did not chuse to dispute it with us, and the greatest part of our troops went over the bridge, the rest over the ferry, except some which passed at a mill on a small creek, between the bridge and the ferry, and made their way through some marshy grounds up to the town of Hackensack, and there passed the river. We brought off as much baggage as the waggons could contain, the rest was lost. The simple object was to bring off the garrison, and to march them on till they could be strengthened by the Jersey or Pennsylvania militia, so as to be enabled to make a stand. We staid four days at Newark collected in our out-posts with some of the Jersey militia, and marched out twice to meet the enemy on information of their being advancing, though our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. Howe, in my little opinion, committed a great error in generalship He might have seized all our stores at Brunswick and inter-

cepted our march into Pennsylvania: But, if we believe the power of Hell to be limited, we must likewise believe that their agents are under some providential controul.

I shall not now attempt to give all the particulars of our retreat to the Delaware; suffice for the present to say, that both officers and men, though greatly harassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, the inevitable consequences of a long retreat, bore it with a manly and martial spirit. All their wishes were one, which was, that the country would turn out and help them to drive the enemy back. Voltaire has remarked, that King William never appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in action; the same remark may be made on General Washington, for the Character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and I reckon it among those kind of public blessings, which we do not immediately see, that God hath blessed him with uninterrupted health, and given him a mind that can even flourish upon care.

I shall conclude this paper with some miscellaneous remarks on the state of our affairs; and shall begin with asking the following question, why is it that the enemy have left the New-England provinces, and made these middle ones the seat of war? The answer is easy: New-England is not infested with Tories, and we are. I have been tender in raising the cry against these men, and used numberless arguments to shew them their danger, but it will not do to sacrifice a world to either their folly or their baseness. The period is now arrived, in which

either they or we must change our sentiments, or one or both must fall. And what is a Tory? Good God! what is he? I should not be afraid to go with a hundred Whigs against a thousand Tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every Tory is a coward; for a servile, slavish, self-interested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave.

But before the line of irrecoverable separation be drawn between us, let us reason the matter together. Your conduct is an invitation to the enemy, yet not one in a thousand of you has heart enough to join him. Howe is as much deceived by you as the American cause is injured by you. He expects you will all take up arms, and flock to his standard with muskets on your shoulders. Your opinions are of no use to him, unless you support him personally; for 'tis soldiers, and not Tories that he wants.

I once felt all that kind of anger, which a man ought to feel, against the mean principles that are held by the Tories. A noted one, who kept a tavern at Amboy, was standing at his door, with as pretty a child in his hand, about eight or nine years old, as most I ever saw, and after speaking his mind as freely as he thought was prudent, finished with this unfatherly expression: '*Well! give me peace in my day.*' Not a man lives on the Continent but fully believes that a separation must sometime or other finally take place, and a generous parent would have said, '*If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace*'; and this single reflection, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as

America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but trade with them. A man may easily distinguish in himself between temper and principle, and I am as confident as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the Continent must in the end be conqueror; for though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal never can expire.

America did not, nor does not want force; but she wanted a proper application of that force. Wisdom is not the purchase of a day, and it is no wonder that we should err at the first setting off. From an excess of tenderness, we were unwilling to raise an army, and trusted our cause to the temporary defence of a well-meaning militia. A summer's experience has now taught us better; yet, with those troops, while they were collected, we were able to set bounds to the progress of the enemy, and thank God! they are again assembling. I always considered militia as the best troops in the world for a sudden exertion, but they will not do for a long campaign. Howe, it is probable, will make an attempt on this city; should he fail on this side the Delaware, he is ruined; if he succeeds, our cause is not ruined. He stakes all on his side against a part on ours; admitting he succeeds, the consequence will be, that armies from both ends of the Continent will march to assist their suffering friends in the middle States; for he cannot go every where, it is impossible. I consider Howe the greatest enemy the Tories have; he is bringing a war into their country, which, had it not been for him, and partly

for themselves, they had been clear of. Should he be now expelled, I wish, with all the devotion of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory may never more be mentioned; but should the Tories give him encouragement to come, or assistance if he come, I as sincerely wish that our next year's arms may expel them from the Continent, and the Congress appropriate their possessions to the relief of those who have suffered in well doing. A single successful battle next year will settle the whole. America could carry on a two years war by the confiscation of the property of disaffected persons, and be made happy by their expulsion. Say not that this is revenge, call it rather the soft resentment of a suffering people, who, having no object in view but the *Good* of *All*, have staked their *own All* upon a seemingly doubtful event. Yet it is folly to argue against determined hardness; eloquence may strike the ear, and the language of sorrow draw forth the tear of compassion, but nothing can reach the heart that is steeled with prejudice.

Quitting this class of men, I turn with the warm ardour of a friend to those who have nobly stood, and are yet determined to stand the matter out. I call not upon a few, but upon all: not on *this* State or *that* State, but on *every* State; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and repulse it. Say not, that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burthen of the day upon Providence, but

'*shew your faith by your works*', that GOD may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now, is dead : The blood of his children shall curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made *them* happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink ; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder ; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and endeavours to kill me, or those that are in it, and to '*bind me in all cases whatsoever*', to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What signifies it to me, whether he who does it, is a king or a common man ; my countryman or not my countryman ? whether it is done by an individual villain, or an army of them ? If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference ; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case, and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it ; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one, whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being,

who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow, and the slain of America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil that threatens them ; they solace themselves with hopes, that the enemy, if they succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice ; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war. The cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf ; and we ought to guard equally against both. Howe's first object is partly by threats and partly by promises, to terrify or seduce the people to deliver up their arms and receive mercy. The ministry recommended the same plan to Gage, and this is what the Tories call making their peace, *'a peace which passeth all understanding' indeed !* A peace which would be the immediate forerunner of a worse ruin than any we have yet thought of. Ye men of Pennsylvania, do reason upon those things ! Were the back counties to give up their arms, they would fall an easy prey to the Indians, who are all armed. This perhaps is what some Tories would not be sorry for. Were the home counties to deliver up their arms, they would be exposed to the resentment of the back counties, who would then have it in their power to chastise their defection at pleasure. And were any one State to give up its arms, *that* State must be garrisoned by all Howe's army of Britons and Hessians to preserve it from the anger of the rest. Mutual fear is the principal link in the chain of mutual love, and woe be to that State that

breaks the compact. Howe is mercifully inviting you to barbarous destruction, and men must be either rogues or fools that will not see it. I dwell not upon the vapours of imagination; I bring reason to your ears; and in language, as plain as A, B, C, hold up truth to your eyes.

I thank God that I fear not, I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. While our army was collected, Howe dared not risk a battle, and it is no credit to him that he decamped from the White Plains, and waited a mean opportunity to ravage the defenceless Jerseys; but it is great credit to us, that with a handful of men, we sustained an orderly retreat for near an hundred miles, brought off our ammunition, all our field-pieces, the greatest part of our stores, and had four rivers to pass. None can say that our retreat was precipitate, for we were near three weeks in performing it, that the country might have time to come in. Twice we marched back to meet the enemy and remained out till dark. The sign of fear was not seen in our camp, and had not some of the cowardly and disaffected inhabitants spread false alarms through the country, the Jerseys had never been ravaged. Once more we are again collected and collecting; our new army at both ends of the Continent is recruiting fast, and we shall be able to open the next campaign with sixty thousand men, well armed and cloathed. This is our situation, and who will may know it. By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue: by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils—a ravaged country—a depopulated city—habitations without safety, and slavery without hope—our homes turned

into barracks and baudy houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture, and weep over it!—and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.

A DISCOURSE ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY

BY RICHARD PRICE

D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

RICHARD PRICE

1723–91

A DISCOURSE ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY

[1789. Born in Glamorganshire, the son of a dissenting minister, Richard Price became a man of manifold reputation. Held in esteem as a philosopher, and as a preacher in the Unitarian body, he was also an industrious pamphleteer. His publications on actuarial and financial matters had already proved influential before he made a much greater stir with the *Observations* on the war with America (published 1776). Price's consistent support of the principle of Independence made many friends for him in America, and in 1773 Yale gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity—this being but one of the several academic titles borne by Price. If the American essays were the occasion of his main contemporary repute, it is the French Revolution pamphlet, given here, that has been of chief interest to readers in more recent times, for it was this that provoked Burke to write the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Before appearing in print, the *Discourse* had been delivered (on November 4, 1789) at the meeting-house in Old Jewry, to the members of the Revolution Society, an association formed to commemorate the events of 1688.]

A DISCOURSE, &c.

PSALM cxxii. 2d, and following verses.

Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem, whither the tribes go up; the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel. To give thanks to the name of the Lord, for there sit the thrones of judgment; the throne of the House of David. Pray for the peace of JERUSALEM. *They shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will now say peace be within thee. Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.*

IN these words the Psalmist expresses, in strong and beautiful language, his love of his country, and the reasons on which he founded it; and my present design is, to take occasion from them to explain the duty we owe to our country, and the nature, foundation, and proper expressions of that love to it which we ought to cultivate.

I reckon this a subject particularly suitable to the services of this day, and to the Anniversary of our deliverance at the Revolution from the dangers of popery and arbitrary power; and should I, on such an occasion, be led to touch more on political subjects than would at any other time be proper in the pulpit, you will, I doubt not, excuse me.

The love of our country has in all times been a subject of warm commendations; and it is certainly a noble passion; but, like all other passions, it requires regulation and direction. There are

mistakes and prejudices by which, in this instance, we are in particular danger of being misled.——I will briefly mention some of these to you, and observe,

First, That by our country is meant, in this case, not the soil or the spot of earth on which we happen to have been born ; not the forests and fields, but that community of which we are members ; or that body of companions and friends and kindred who are associated with us under the same constitution of government, protected by the same laws, and bound together by the same civil polity.

Secondly, It is proper to observe, that even in this sense of our country, that love of it which is our duty, does not imply any conviction of the superior value of it to other countries, or any particular preference of its laws and constitution of government. Were this implied, the love of their country would be the duty of only a very small part of mankind ; for there are few countries that enjoy the advantage of laws and governments which deserve to be preferred. To found, therefore, this duty on such a preference, would be to found it on error and delusion. It is, however, a common delusion. There is the same partiality in countries, to themselves, that there is in individuals. All our attachments should be accompanied, as far as possible, with right opinions.——We are too apt to confine wisdom and virtue within the circle of our own acquaintance and party. Our friends, our country, and in short every thing related to us, we are disposed to overvalue. A wise man will guard himself against this delusion. He will study to think of all things as they are, and not suffer any partial affections to blind his understanding. In other families there may be as much worth as in

our own. In other circles of friends there may be as much wisdom; and in other countries as much of all that deserves esteem; but, notwithstanding this, our obligation to love our own families, friends, and country, and to seek, in the first place, their good, will remain the same.

Thirdly, It is proper I should desire you particularly to distinguish between the love of our country and that spirit of rivalship and ambition which has been common among nations.——What has the love of their country hitherto been among mankind? What has it been but a love of domination; a desire of conquest, and a thirst for grandeur and glory, by extending territory, and enslaving surrounding countries? What has it been but a blind and narrow principle, producing in every country a contempt of other countries, and forming men into combinations and factions against their common rights and liberties? This is the principle that has been too often cried up as a virtue of the first rank: a principle of the same kind with that which governs clans of *Indians* or tribes of *Arabs*, and leads them out to plunder and massacre. As most of the evils which have taken place in private life, and among individuals, have been occasioned by the desire of private interest overcoming the public affections; so most of the evils which have taken place among bodies of men have been occasioned by the desire of their own interest overcoming the principle of universal benevolence: and leading them to attack one another's territories, to encroach on one another's rights, and to endeavour to build their own advancement on the degradation of all within the reach of their power——What was the love of their country among the *Jews*, but a wretched

partiality to themselves, and a proud contempt of all other nations? What was the love of their country among the old *Romans*? We have heard much of it; but I cannot hesitate in saying that, however great it appeared in some of its exertions, it was in general no better than a principle holding together a band of robbers in their attempts to crush all liberty but their own. What is now the love of his country in a *Spaniard*, a *Turk*, or a *Russian*? Can it be considered as any thing better than a passion for slavery, or a blind attachment to a spot where he enjoys no rights, and is disposed of as if he was a beast?

Let us learn by such reflexions to correct and purify this passion, and to make it a just and rational principle of action.

It is very remarkable that the founder of our religion has not once mentioned this duty, or given us any recommendation of it; and this has, by unbelievers, been made an objection to Christianity. What I have said will entirely remove this objection. Certain it is, that, by inculcating on men an attachment to their country, Christianity would, at the time it was propagated, have done unspeakably more harm than good. Among the *Jews*, it would have been an excitement to war and insurrections; for they were then in eager expectation of becoming soon (as the favourite people of Heaven) the lords and conquerors of the earth, under the triumphant reign of the *Messiah*. Among the *Romans*, likewise, this principle had, as I have just observed, exceeded its just bounds, and rendered them enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind. By inculcating it, therefore, Christianity would have confirmed both Jews and Gentiles in one of the most per-

nicious faults. Our Lord and his Apostles have done better. They have recommended that UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE which is an unspeakably nobler principle than any partial affections. They have laid such stress on loving all men, even our enemies, and made an ardent and extensive charity so essential a part of virtue, that the religion they have preached may, by way of distinction from all other religions, be called the Religion of Benevolence. Nothing can be more friendly to the general rights of mankind; and were it duly regarded and practised, every man would consider every other man as his brother, and all the animosity that now takes place among contending nations would be abolished. If you want any proof of this, think of our Saviour's parable of the good Samaritan. The *Jews* and *Samaritans* were two rival nations that entertained a hatred of one another the most inveterate. The design of this parable was to shew to a *Jew*, that even a *Samaritan*, and consequently all men of all nations and religions, were included in the precept, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.

But I am digressing from what I had chiefly in view; which was, after noticing that love of our country which is false and spurious, to explain the nature and effects of that which is just and reasonable. With this view I must desire you to recollect that we are so constituted that our affections are more drawn to some among mankind than to others, in proportion to their degrees of nearness to us, and our power of being useful to them. It is obvious that this is a circumstance in the constitution of our natures which proves the wisdom and goodness of our Maker; for had our affections been determined alike to all our fellow-creatures, human life

would have been a scene of embarrassment and distraction. Our regards, according to the order of nature, begin with ourselves; and every man is charged primarily with the care of himself. Next come our families, and benefactors, and friends; and after them our country. We can do little for the interest of mankind at large. To this interest, however, all other interests are subordinate. The noblest principle in our nature is the regard to general justice, and that good-will which embraces all the world.——I have already observed this; but it cannot be too often repeated. Though our immediate attention must be employed in promoting our own interest and that of our nearest connexions; yet we must remember, that a narrower interest ought always to give way to a more extensive interest. In pursuing particularly the interest of our country, we ought to carry our views beyond it. We should love it ardently, but not exclusively. We ought to seek its good, by all the means that our different circumstances and abilities will allow; but at the same time we ought to consider ourselves as citizens of the world, and take care to maintain a just regard to the rights of other countries.

The enquiry by what means (subject to this limitation) we may best promote the interest of our country is very important; and all that remains of this discourse shall be employed in answering it, and in exhorting you to manifest your love to your country, by the means I shall mention.

The chief blessings of human nature are the three following:——TRUTH—VIRTUE—and LIBERTY.——These are, therefore, the blessings in the possession of which the interest of our country lies, and to the

attainment of which our love of it ought to direct our endeavours. By the diffusion of KNOWLEDGE it must be distinguished from a country of *Barbarians* : by the practice of religious VIRTUE, it must be distinguished from a country of *gamblers*, *Atheists*, and *libertines* : and by the possession of LIBERTY, it must be distinguished from a country of *slaves*.—— I will dwell for a few moments on each of these heads :

Our first concern, as lovers of our country, must be to *enlighten* it.—Why are the nations of the world so patient under despotism ?—Why do they crouch to tyrants, and submit to be treated as if they were a herd of cattle ? Is it not because they are kept in darkness, and want knowledge ? Enlighten them and you will elevate them. Shew them they are *men*, and they will act like *men*. Give them just ideas of civil government, and let them know that it is an expedient for gaining protection against injury and defending their rights,[1] and it will be impossible for them to submit to governments which, like most of those now in the world, are usurpations on the rights of men, and little better than contrivances for enabling the *few* to oppress the *many*. Convince them that the Deity is a righteous and benevolent as well as omnipotent being, who regards with equal eye all his creatures, and connects his favour with nothing but an honest desire to know and do his will ; and that zeal for mystical doctrines which has led men to hate and harass one another will be exterminated. Set religion before them as a rational service, consisting not in any rites and ceremonies, but in worshipping

[1] See the Declaration of Rights by the National Assembly of *France*, in the Appendix.

God with a pure heart and practising righteousness from the fear of his displeasure and the apprehension of a future righteous judgment, and that gloomy and cruel superstition will be abolished which has hitherto gone under the name of religion, and to the support of which civil government has been perverted.——Ignorance is the parent of bigotry, intolerance, persecution and slavery. Inform and instruct mankind; and these evils will be excluded. ——Happy is the person who, himself raised above vulgar errors, is conscious of having aimed at giving mankind this instruction. Happy is the Scholar or Philosopher who at the close of life can reflect that he has made this use of his learning and abilities: but happier far must he be, if at the same time he has reason to believe he has been successful, and actually contributed, by his instructions, to disseminate among his fellow-creatures just notions of themselves, of their rights, of religion, and the nature and end of civil government. Such were *Milton, Locke, Sidney, Hoadly,* &c. in this country; such were *Montesquieu, Marmontel, Turgot,* &c. in France. They sowed a seed which has since taken root, and is now growing up to a glorious harvest. To the information they conveyed by their writings we owe those revolutions in which every friend to mankind is now exulting.——What an encouragement is this to us all in our endeavours to enlighten the world? Every degree of illumination which we can communicate must do the greatest good. It helps to prepare the minds of men for the recovery of their rights, and hastens the overthrow of priestcraft and tyranny.——In short, we may, in this instance, learn our duty from the conduct of the oppressors of the world. They know that light is

hostile to them, and therefore they labour to keep men in the dark. With this intention they have appointed licensers of the press; and, in Popish countries, prohibited the reading of the Bible. Remove the darkness in which they envelope the world, and their usurpations will be exposed, their power will be subverted, and the world emancipated.

The next great blessing of human nature which I have mentioned is VIRTUE. This ought to follow knowledge, and to be directed by it. Virtue without knowledge makes enthusiasts; and knowledge without virtue makes devils; but both united elevates to the top of human dignity and perfection.——We must, therefore, if we would serve our country, make both these the objects of our zeal. We must discourage vice in all its forms; and our endeavours to enlighten must have ultimately in view a reformation of manners and virtuous practice.

I must add here, that in the practice of virtue I include the discharge of the public duties of religion. By neglecting these we may injure our country essentially. But it is melancholy to observe that it is a common neglect among us; and in a great measure owing to a cause which is not likely to be soon removed: I mean, the defects (may I not say, the absurdities?) in our established codes of faith and worship. In foreign countries, the higher ranks of men, not distinguishing between the religion they see established and the Christian religion, are generally driven to irreligion and infidelity. The like evil is produced by the like cause in this country; and if no reformation of our established formularies can be brought about, it must be expected that religion will go on to lose its credit, and

that little of it will be left except among the lower orders of people, many of whom, while their superiors give up all religion, are sinking into a barbarism in religion lately revived by Methodism, and mistaking, as the world has generally done, the service acceptable to God for a system of faith souring the temper, and a service of forms supplanting morality.

I hope you will not mistake what I am now saying, or consider it as the effect of my prejudices as a Dissenter from the established church. The complaint I am making, is the complaint of many of the wisest and best men in the established church itself, who have been long urging the necessity of a revisal of its Liturgy and Articles.[1] These were framed above two centuries ago, when Christendom was just emerging from the ignorance and barbarity of the dark ages. They remain now much the same they were then ; and, therefore, cannot be properly adapted to the good sense and liberality of the present times.—This imperfection, however, in our public forms of worship, affords no excuse to any person for neglecting public worship. All communities will have some religion ; and it is of infinite consequence that they should be led to that which, by enforcing the obligations of virtue and putting men upon loving instead of damning one another, is most favourable to the interest of society.

If there is a Governor of the world, who directs

[1] See a pamphlet ascribed to a great name, and which would dignify any name, entitled, *Hints, &c. submitted to the serious Attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly assembled. By a Layman, a Friend to the true Principles of the Constitution in Church and State, and to Civil and Religious Liberty.* The Third Edition, corrected ; and printed for *White* and *Debrett*, 1789.

all events, he ought to be invoked and worshipped; and those who dislike that mode of worship which is prescribed by public authority, ought (if they can find no worship *out* of the church which they approve) to set up a separate worship for themselves; and by doing this, and giving an example of a rational and manly worship, men of weight, from their rank or literature, may do the greatest service to society and the world. They may bear a testimony against that application of civil power to the support of particular modes of faith, which obstructs human improvement, and perpetuates error; and they may hold out an instruction which will discountenance superstition, and at the same time recommend religion, by making it appear to be (what it certainly is when rightly understood) the strongest incentive to all that is generous and worthy, and consequently the best friend to public order and happiness.

LIBERTY is the next great blessing which I have mentioned as the object of patriotic zeal. It is inseparable from knowledge and virtue, and together with them completes the glory of a community. An enlightened and virtuous country must be a free country. It cannot suffer invasions of its rights, or bend to tyrants.——I need not, on this occasion, take any pains to shew you how great a blessing liberty is. The smallest attention to the history of past ages, and the present state of mankind, will make you sensible of its importance. Look round the world, and you will find almost every country, respectable or contemptible, happy or miserable, a fruitful field or a frightful waste, according as it possesses or wants this blessing. Think of *Greece*,

formerly the seat of arts and science, and the most distinguished spot under heaven; but now, having lost liberty, a vile and wretched spot, a region of darkness, poverty, and barbarity.——Such reflexions must convince you that, if you love your country, you cannot be zealous enough in promoting the cause of liberty in it. But it will come in my way to say more to this purpose presently.

The observations I have made include our whole duty to our country; for by endeavouring to liberalize and enlighten it, to discourage vice and to promote virtue in it, and to assert and support its liberties, we shall endeavour to do all that is necessary to make it great and happy.——But it is proper that, on this occasion, I should be more explicit, and exemplify our duty to our country by observing farther, that it requires us to obey its laws, and to respect its magistrates.

Civil government (as I have before observed) is an institution of human prudence for guarding our persons, our property, and our good name, against invasion; and for securing to the members of a community that liberty to which all have an equal right, as far as they do not, by any overt act, use it to injure the liberty of others. Civil laws are regulations agreed upon by the community for gaining these ends;[1] and civil magistrates are officers appointed by the community for executing these laws. Obedience, therefore, to the laws and to magistrates, are necessary expressions of our regard to the community; and without this obedi-

[1] See Articles III. and VI. of the Declaration of Rights, by the National Assembly of France, in the Appendix.

ence the ends of government cannot be obtained, or a community avoid falling into a state of anarchy that will destroy those rights and subvert that liberty, which government is instituted to protect.

I wish it was in my power to give you a just account of the importance of this observation. It shews the ground on which the duty of obeying civil governors stands, and that there are two extremes in this case which ought to be avoided.——These extremes are adulation and servility on one hand; and a proud and licentious contempt on the other. The former is the extreme to which mankind in general have been most prone; for it has oftener happened that men have been too passive than too unruly; and the rebellion of Kings against their people has been more common, and done more mischief, than the rebellion of people against their Kings.

Adulation is always odious, and when offered to men in power it corrupts *them*, by giving them improper ideas of their situation; and it debases those who offer it, by manifesting an abjectness founded on improper ideas of *themselves*. I have lately observed in this kingdom too near approaches to this abjectness. In our late addresses to the King, on his recovery from the severe illness with which God has been pleased to afflict him, we have appeared more like a herd crawling at the feet of a master, than like enlightened and manly citizens rejoicing with a beloved sovereign, but at the same time conscious that he derives all his consequence from themselves. But, perhaps, these servilities in the language of our late addresses should be pardoned, as only *forms* of civility and expressions of an overflow of good-nature. They have, however,

a dangerous tendency. The potentates of this world are sufficiently apt to consider themselves as possessed of an inherent superiority, which gives them a right to govern, and makes mankind *their own*; and this infatuation is almost every where fostered in them by the creeping sycophants about them, and the language of flattery which they are continually hearing.

Civil governors are properly the servants of the public; and a King is no more than the first servant of the public, created by it, maintained by it, and responsible to it: and all the homage paid him, is due to him on no other account than his relation to the public. His sacredness is the sacredness of the community. His authority is the authority of the community; and the term MAJESTY, which it is usual to apply to him, is by no means *his own* majesty, but the MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE. For this reason, whatever he may be in his private capacity; and though, in respect of personal qualities, not equal to, or even far below many among ourselves—For this reason, I say, (that is, as representing the community and its first magistrate), he is entitled to our reverence and obedience. The words MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY are rightly applied to him; and there is a respect which it would be criminal to withhold from him.

You cannot be too attentive to this observation. The improvement of the world depends on the attention to it: nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy, as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes universal and efficacious. If we forget it, we shall be in danger of an idolatry as gross and stupid as that of the ancient heathens, who, after fabricating blocks of wood or stone, fell

down and worshipped them.——The disposition in mankind to this kind of idolatry is indeed a very mortifying subject of reflexion.——In TURKEY, millions of human beings adore a silly mortal, and are ready to throw themselves at his feet, and to submit their lives to his discretion.——In RUSSIA, the common people are only a STOCK on the lands of grandees, or appendages to their estates, which, like the fixtures in a house, are bought and sold with the estates. In SPAIN, in GERMANY, and under most of the governments of the world, mankind are in a similar state of humiliation. Who, that has a just sense of the dignity of his nature, can avoid execrating such a debasement of it?

Had I been to address the King on a late occasion, I should have been inclined to do it in a style very different from that of most of the addressers, and to use some such language as the following:——
'I rejoice, Sir, in your recovery. I thank God for 'his goodness to you. I honour you not only as 'my King, but as almost the only lawful King in 'the world, because the only one who owes his 'crown to the choice of his people. May you enjoy 'all possible happiness. May God shew you the 'folly of those effusions of adulation which you are 'now receiving, and guard you against their effects. 'May you be led to such a just sense of the nature 'of your situation, and endowed with such wisdom, 'as shall render your restoration to the government 'of these kingdoms a blessing to it, and engage you 'to consider yourself as more properly the *Servant* 'than the *Sovereign* of your people.'

But I must not forget the opposite extreme to that now taken notice of; that is, a disdainful

pride, derived from a consciousness of equality, or, perhaps, superiority, in respect of all that gives true dignity, to men in power, and producing a contempt of them, and a disposition to treat them with rudeness and insult. It is a trite observation, that extremes generally beget one another. This is particularly true in the present case. Persons justly informed on the subject of government, when they see men dazzled by looking up to high stations, and observe loyalty carried to a length that implies ignorance and servility: such persons, in such circumstances, are in danger of spurning at all public authority, and throwing off that respectful demeanor to persons invested with it which the order of society requires. There is undoubtedly a particular deference and homage due to civil magistrates, on account of their stations and offices; nor can that man be either truly wise or truly virtuous, who despises governments, and wantonly *speaks evil of his rulers*; or who does not, by all the means in his power, endeavour to strengthen their hands, and to give weight to their exertions in the discharge of their duty.——*Fear God,* says St. Peter. *Love the brotherhood. Honour all men. Honour the King.——You must needs,* says St. Paul, *be subject to rulers, not only for wrath* (that is, from the fear of suffering the penalties annexed to the breach of the laws), *but for conscience sake. For rulers are ministers of God, and revengers for executing wrath on all that do evil.*

Another expression of our love to our country is defending it against enemies. These enemies are of two sorts, internal and external; or domestic and foreign. The former are the most dangerous, and

they have generally been the most successful. I have just observed, that there is a submission due to the executive officers of government, which is our duty; but you must not forget what I have also observed, that it must not be a blind and slavish submission. Men in power (unless better disposed than is common) are always endeavouring to extend their power. They hate the doctrine, that it is a TRUST derived from the people, and not a *right* vested in themselves. For this reason, the tendency of every government is to despotism; and in this the best constituted governments must end, if the people are not vigilant, ready to take alarms, and determined to resist abuses as soon as they begin. This vigilance, therefore, it is our duty to maintain. Whenever it is withdrawn, and a people cease to reason about their rights and to be awake to encroachments, they are in danger of being enslaved, and their *servants* will soon become their *masters*.

I need not say how much it is our duty to defend our country against foreign enemies. When a country is attacked in any of its rights by another country, or when any attempts are made by ambitious foreign powers to injure it, a war in its defence becomes necessary: and, in such circumstances, to die for our country is meritorious and noble. These *defensive* wars are, in my opinion, the only just wars. *Offensive* wars are always unlawful; and to seek the aggrandizement of our country by them, that is, by attacking other countries, in order to extend dominion, or to gratify avarice, is wicked and detestable. Such, however, have been most of the wars which have taken place in the world; but the time is, I hope, coming, when a conviction will

prevail, of the folly [1] as well as the iniquity of wars; and when the nations of the earth, happy under just governments, and no longer in danger from the passions of Kings, will find out better ways of settling their disputes; and beat (as Isaiah prophecies) *their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.*

Among the particulars included in that duty to our country, by discharging which we should shew our love to it, I will only further mention praying for it, and offering up thanksgivings to God for every event favourable to it. At the present season we are called upon to express, in this way, our love to our country. It is the business of this day, and of the present service; and, therefore, it is necessary that I should now direct your attention to it particularly.

We are met to thank God for that event in this country to which the name of THE REVOLUTION has been given; and which, for more than a century, it has been usual for the friends of freedom, and more especially Protestant Dissenters, under the title of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY, to celebrate with

[1] See a striking representation of the folly of wars, in the last sections of Mr. *Necker*'s Treatise on the *Administration of the Finances of* FRANCE. There is reason to believe that the sentiments on this subject in that treatise, are now the prevailing sentiments in the court and legislature of FRANCE; and, consequently, that one of the happy effects of the revolution in that country may be, if not our own fault, such a harmony between the two first kingdoms in the world, strengthened by a common participation in the blessings of liberty, as shall not only prevent their engaging in any future wars with one another, but dispose them to unite in preventing wars every where, and in making the world free and happy.

expressions of joy and exultation.——My highly valued and excellent friend,[1] who addressed you on this occasion last year, has given you an interesting account of the principal circumstances that attended this event, and of the reasons we have for rejoicing in it. By a bloodless victory, the fetters which despotism had been long preparing for us were broken; the rights of the people were asserted, a tyrant expelled, and a Sovereign of our own choice appointed in his room. Security was given to our property, and our consciences were emancipated. The bounds of free enquiry were enlarged; the volume in which are the words of eternal life, was laid more open to our examination; and that *æra* of light and liberty was introduced among us, by which we have been made an example to other kingdoms, and became the instructors of the world. Had it not been for this deliverance, the probability is, that, instead of being thus distinguished, we should now have been a base people, groaning under the infamy and misery of popery and slavery. Let us, therefore, offer thanksgivings to God, the author of all our blessings. *Had he not been on our side, we should have been swallowed up quick, and the proud waters would have gone over our souls. But our souls are escaped, and the snare has been broken. Blessed then be the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.* cxxivth Psalm.

It is well known that King James was not far from gaining his purpose; and that probably he would have succeeded, had he been less in a hurry. But he was a fool as well as a bigot. He wanted

[1] See Dr. Kippis's Sermon, preached on November 4th, 1788, to the Revolution Society, and printed for Mr. Cadell.

courage as well as prudence; and, therefore, fled, and left us to settle quietly for ourselves that constitution of government which is now our boast. We have particular reason, as Protestant Dissenters, to rejoice on this occasion. It was at this time we were rescued from persecution, and obtained the liberty of worshipping God in the manner we think most acceptable to him. It was then our meeting-houses were opened, our worship was taken under the protection of the law, and the principles of toleration gained a triumph. We have, therefore, on this occasion, peculiar reasons for thanksgiving—But let us remember that we ought not to satisfy ourselves with thanksgivings. Our gratitude, if genuine, will be accompanied with endeavours to give stability to the deliverance our country has obtained, and to extend and improve the happiness with which the Revolution has blest us—Let us, in particular, take care not to forget the principles of the Revolution. This Society has, very properly, in its Reports, held out these principles, as an instruction to the public. I will only take notice of the three following:

First; The right to liberty of conscience in religious matters.

Secondly; The right to resist power when abused. And,

Thirdly; The right to chuse our own governors; to cashier them for misconduct; and to frame a government for ourselves.

On these three principles, and more especially the last, was the Revolution founded. Were it not true that liberty of conscience is a sacred right; that power abused justifies resistance; and that civil

authority is a delegation from the people—Were not, I say, all this true; the Revolution would have been not an ASSERTION, but an INVASION of rights; not a REVOLUTION, but a REBELLION. Cherish in your breasts this conviction, and act under its influence; detesting the odious doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings—doctrines which, had they been acted upon in this country, would have left us at this time wretched slaves—doctrines which imply, that God made mankind to be oppressed and plundered; and which are no less a blasphemy against him, than an insult on common sense.

I would farther direct you to remember, that though the Revolution was a great work, it was by no means a perfect work; and that all was not then gained which was necessary to put the kingdom in the secure and complete possession of the blessings of liberty.—In particular, you should recollect, that the toleration then obtained was imperfect. It included only those who could declare their faith in the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It has, indeed, been since extended, but not sufficiently; for there still exist penal laws on account of religious opinions, which (were they carried into execution) would shut up many of our places of worship, and silence and imprison some of our ablest and best men.——The TEST LAWS are also still in force; and deprive of eligibility to civil and military offices, all who cannot conform to the established worship. It is with great pleasure I find that the body of Protestant Dissenters, though defeated in two late attempts to deliver their country from this disgrace to it, have determined to persevere. Should they at last succeed, they will have the satisfaction,

not only of removing from themselves a proscription they do not deserve, but of contributing to lessen the number of our public iniquities. For I cannot call by a gentler name, laws which convert an ordinance appointed by our Saviour to commemorate his death, into an instrument of oppressive policy, and a qualification of rakes and atheists for civil posts.—I have said, *should* they succeed—but perhaps I ought not to suggest a doubt about their success.[1] And, indeed, when I consider that

[1] It has been unfortunate for the Dissenters that, in their late applications for a repeal of the Test Laws, they have been opposed by Mr. PITT. He has contended that, on account of their not believing and worshipping as the Church of England does, they ought to be excluded from that eligibility to public offices which is the right of other citizens, and consequently denied a *complete* toleration; acknowledging, however, their integrity and respectableness, but reckoning it only the more necessary on that account to defend the national church against them. Such sentiments in these times can do no honour to any man, much less to a son of the late Lord CHATHAM, whose opinion of toleration and Protestant Dissenters may be learnt from the following account.

In 1769 and 1772, the ministers among the Dissenters applied to Parliament for relief from the obligation they were then under to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England in order to be entitled to a toleration, and both times succeeded in the House of Commons, in consequence of Lord NORTH's neutrality, but were defeated in the House of Lords, in consequence of an opposition from the Episcopal Bench. They persevered, however; the Bishops repented; and a third application proved successful in both Houses.—In the debate occasioned in the House of Lords by the *second* application, Dr. Drummond, the Archbishop of York, having called the Dissenting Ministers 'men of close ambition', Lord CHATHAM said, that this was judging uncharitably; and that whoever brought such a charge against them without proof, defamed. Here he

in SCOTLAND the established church is defended by no such test—that in IRELAND it has been abolished —that in a great neighbouring country it has been declared to be an indefeasible right of all citizens to be equally eligible to public offices—that in the same kingdom a professed Dissenter from the established church holds the first office in the state—that in the Emperor's dominions *Jews* have been lately admitted to the enjoyment of equal privileges with other citizens—and that in this very country, a Dissenter, though excluded from the power of *executing* the laws, yet is allowed to be employed in *making* them.—When, I say, I consider such facts as these,

paused; and then went on—' The Dissenting Ministers ' are represented as men of close ambition. They are ' so, my Lords; and their ambition is to keep *close* to ' the college of fishermen, not of cardinals, and to the ' doctrine of inspired apostles, not to the decrees of ' interested and aspiring bishops. They contend for ' a spiritual creed, and scriptural worship. We have ' a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian ' clergy. The Reformation has laid open the scriptures ' to all. Let not the Bishops shut them again. Laws ' in support of ecclesiastical power are pleaded for, ' which it would shock humanity to execute. It is said, ' that religious sects have done great mischief, when they ' were not kept under restraint: but history affords ' no proof that sects have ever been mischievous, when ' they were not oppressed and persecuted by the ruling ' church.' See the Parliamentary Debates for 1772.

In one of his letters to me, not long after this debate, dated Burton-Pynsent, January 16, 1773, he expresses himself in the following words: ' In writing to yöu, it ' is impossible the mind should not go of itself to that ' most interesting of all objects to fallible man— ' TOLERATION. Be assured, that on this sacred and ' unalienable right of nature, and bulwark of truth, my ' warm wishes will always keep pace with your own. ' Happy, if the times had allowed us to add hopes to ' our wishes.'

I am disposed to think it impossible that the enemies of the repeal of the Test Laws should not soon become ashamed, and give up their opposition.

But the most important instance of the imperfect state in which the Revolution left our constitution, is the INEQUALITY OF OUR REPRESENTATION. I think, indeed, this defect in our constitution so gross and so palpable, as to make it excellent chiefly in form and theory. You should remember that a representation in the legislature of a kingdom is the *basis* of constitutional liberty in it, and of all legitimate government; and that without it a government is nothing but an usurpation.[1] When the representation is fair and equal, and at the same time vested with such powers as our House of Commons possesses, a kingdom may be said to govern itself, and consequently to possess true liberty. When the representation is partial, a kingdom possesses liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it only gives a *semblance* of liberty; but if not only extremely partial, but corruptly chosen, and under corrupt influence after being chosen, it becomes a *nuisance*, and produces the worst of all forms of government—a government by corruption—a government carried on and supported by spreading venality and profligacy through a kingdom. May heaven preserve this kingdom from a calamity so dreadful! It is the point of depravity to which abuses under such a government as ours naturally tend, and the last stage of national unhappiness. We are, at present, I hope, at a great distance from

[1] Except in states so small as to admit of a Legislative Assembly, consisting of all the members of the state.

it. But it cannot be pretended that there are no advances towards it, or that there is no reason for apprehension and alarm.

The inadequateness of our representation has been long a subject of complaint. This is, in truth, our fundamental grievance; and I do not think that any thing is much more our duty, as men who love their country, and are grateful for the Revolution, than to unite our zeal in endeavouring to get it redressed. At the time of the American war, associations were formed for this purpose in LONDON, and other parts of the kingdom; and our present Minister himself has, since that war, directed to it an effort which made him a favourite with many of us. But all attention to it seems now lost, and the probability is, that this inattention will continue, and that nothing will be done towards gaining for us this essential blessing, till some great calamity again alarms our fears, or till some great abuse of power again provokes our resentment; or, perhaps, till the acquisition of a pure and equal representation by other countries (while we are mocked with the shadow [1]) kindles our shame.

Such is the conduct by which we ought to express our gratitude for the Revolution.—We should always bear in mind the principles that justify it. We should contribute all we can towards supplying what it left deficient; and shew ourselves anxious about transmitting the blessings obtained by it to our posterity, unimpaired and improved.—But, brethren, while we thus shew our patriotic zeal, let us take care not to disgrace the cause of patriotism,

[1] A representation chosen principally by the Treasury, and a few thousands of the dregs of the people, who are generally paid for their votes.

by any licentious, or immoral conduct.——Oh! how earnestly do I wish that all who profess zeal in this cause, were as distinguished by the purity of their morals, as some of them are by their abilities; and that I could make them sensible of the advantages they would derive from a virtuous character, and of the suspicions they incur and the loss of consequence they suffer by wanting it.——Oh! that I could see in men who oppose tyranny in the state, a disdain of the tyranny of low passions in themselves; or, at least, such a sense of shame, and regard to public order and decency as would induce them to *hide* their irregularities, and to avoid insulting the virtuous part of the community by an open exhibition of vice!—I cannot reconcile myself to the idea of an immoral patriot, or to that separation of private from public virtue, which some think to be possible. Is it to be expected that—— But I must forbear. I am afraid of applications, which many are too ready to make, and for which I should be sorry to give any just occasion.

I have been explaining to you the nature and expressions of a just regard to our country. Give me leave to exhort you to examine your conduct by what I have been saying. You love your country, and desire its happiness; and, without doubt, you have the greatest reason for loving it. It has been long a very distinguished and favoured country. Often has God appeared for it and delivered it. Let us study to shew ourselves worthy of the favour shewn us.—Do you practise virtue yourselves, and study to promote it in others? Do you obey the laws of your country, and aim at doing your part towards maintaining and perpetuating its privileges?

Do you always give your vote on the side of public liberty; and are you ready to pour out your blood in its defence? Do you look up to God for the continuance of his favour to your country, and pray for its prosperity; preserving, at the same time, a strict regard to the rights of other countries, and always considering yourselves more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community?——If this is your temper and conduct you are blessings to your country, and were all like you, this world would soon be a heaven.

I am addressing myself to Christians. Let me, therefore, mention to you the example of our blessed Saviour. I have observed, at the beginning of this discourse, that he did not inculcate upon his hearers the love of their country, or take any notice of it as a part of our duty. Instead of doing this, I observed that he taught the obligation to love all mankind, and recommended universal benevolence, as (next to the love of God) our first duty; and, I think, I also proved to you, that this, in the circumstances of the world at that time, was an instance of incomparable wisdom and goodness in his instructions. But we must not infer from hence, that he did not include the love of our country in the number of our duties. He has shewn the contrary by his example. It appears that he possessed a particular affection for his country, though a very wicked country. We read in Luke xix. 42, that when, upon approaching *Jerusalem*, in one of his last journies to it, he beheld it, he wept over it, and said; *Oh! that thou hadst known (even thou, at least in this thy day) the things that belong to thy peace.*— What a tender solicitude about his country does the lamentation over *Jerusalem* imply, which is

recorded in the same gospel, chap. xiii. and 34. *Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them who are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings, but ye would not.*

It may not be improper farther to mention the love St. Paul expressed for his country, when he declared, that, for the sake of his brethren and kinsmen, he could even wish himself *accursed from Christ.* (Rom. ix. 3.) The original words are an ANATHEMA *from Christ*; and his meaning is, that he could have been contented to suffer *himself* the calamities which were coming on the Jewish people, were it possible for him, by such a sacrifice of himself, to save them.

It is too evident that the state of this country is such as renders it an object of concern and anxiety. It wants (I have shewn you) the grand security of public liberty. Increasing luxury has multiplied abuses in it. A monstrous weight of debt is crippling it. Vice and venality are bringing down upon it God's displeasure. That spirit to which it owes its distinctions is declining;[1] and some late events seem to prove that it is becoming every day more reconcileable to encroachments on the securities of

[1] One of these distinctions is, that being in possession of the forms of an excellent constitution of government, any changes or improvements necessary to correct abuses and to give perfect liberty, may be grafted upon them, without tumult or danger; whereas other countries, wanting these forms, and being under the necessity of erecting a new constitution on the ruins of an old one, cannot acquire liberty without setting every thing afloat, and making their escape from slavery through the dangers of anarchy.

its liberties.[1]—It wants, therefore, your patriotic services; and, for the sake of the distinctions it has so long enjoyed; for the sake of our brethren and companions, and all that should be dear to a free people, we ought to do our utmost to save it from the dangers that threaten it; remembering, that by acting thus, we shall promote, in the best manner, our own private interest, as well as the interest of our country; for when the community prospers, the individuals that compose it must prosper with it.—But, should that not happen, or should we even suffer in our secular interest by our endeavours to promote the interest of our country, we shall feel a satisfaction in our own breasts which is preferable to all this world can give; and we shall enjoy the transporting hope of soon becoming members of a perfect community in the heavens, and having *an entrance ministered to us, abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

You may reasonably expect that I should now close this address to you. But I cannot yet dismiss you. I must not conclude without recalling, particularly, to your recollection, a consideration to which I have more than once alluded, and which, probably, your thoughts have been all along anticipating: A consideration with which my mind is impressed more than I can express. I mean, the consideration of the favourableness of the pre-

[1] Among these encroachments I must reckon the extension of the Excise laws, the introduction of the custom of farming taxes, and the additional burdens lately thrown on the freedom of the press, and the circulation of intelligence.

sent times to all exertions in the cause of public liberty.

What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almost say, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge, which has undermined superstition and error—I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever; and nations panting for liberty, which seemed to have lost the idea of it.——I have lived to see THIRTY MILLIONS of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.——After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.——And now, methinks, I see the ardor for liberty catching and spreading; a general amendment beginning in human affairs; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience.

Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE!

Tremble all ye oppressors of the world! Take warning all ye supporters of slavish governments, and slavish hierarchies! Call no more (absurdly

and wickedly) REFORMATION, innovation. You cannot now hold the world in darkness. Struggle no longer against increasing light and liberality. Restore to mankind their rights; and consent to the correction of abuses, before they and you are destroyed together.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

Thirty Millions of People in France.

[*See ante, page 476.*]

MY reasons for stating the People of *France* at this number, will appear from the following facts and observations.

From accurate enumerations made at the end of every three years in SWEDEN, during 21 years, from 1755 to 1775, it appeared that the average number of inhabitants of all ages, was in that period 2,310,160.

The average of annual births, was 90,245.

The average of annual deaths, including three years of extraordinary mortality, was 66,759. A 34th part and three-fifths, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. See my Treatise on Annuities, Vol. I. p. 274, and Vol. II. p. 123, &c. and the first additional Essay at the end of the second Vol. p. 16, &c.

In the kingdom of NAPLES, consisting in 1777 of 4,311,503 inhabitants, the average of annual deaths for five years was 115,412. A 37th ⅓ part, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. Ib. Vol. I. p. 274.

In the province of *Vaud*, SWITZERLAND, containing 112,951 inhabitants, a 45th part dies annually. Ib.

In the kingdom of FRANCE, the medium of annual deaths, births, and marriages, was

Of BIRTHS for 4 years, to 1774 -	914,710	For 6 years, to 1780, -	958,419
Of DEATHS - -	793,931	- - - -	834,865
Of MARRIAGES -	192,180	- - - -	228,170

I see no reason for suspecting, that the propor-

tion of inhabitants dying annually to the whole number of inhabitants, is greater in France than in Sweden, or even in the kingdom of NAPLES. Let it, however, be reckoned the same with that in Sweden; that is, as 1 to $34\frac{3}{5}$, and the number of inhabitants in France, in 1780, must have been $34\frac{3}{5}$ multiplied by 834,865, or nearly TWENTY-NINE MILLIONS.

It should be observed, that in the ten years from 1771 to 1780, there was in FRANCE such an increase of the annual births, deaths, and marriages (produced by the excess of the births above the deaths), as evidently proved that the number of inhabitants had increased in those ten years near a million and a half.

It should be farther considered, that the returns of births, deaths, and marriages in FRANCE, being returns of numbers actually counted and registered, they must be (as such accounts always are) in some degree deficient. Mr. Necker, in his Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France (Vol. I. p. 251) has mentioned other deficiencies in these returns; and, particularly, that (except the Jews of *Lorrain*, *Alsace*, and the county of *Metz*) the registers of population do not contain the names of any non-catholicks (in number near two millions), except they have been baptized in the established church.

It seems, therefore, that my statement of the present inhabitants of France at thirty millions, is very moderate: an addition of two millions on account of an increase since 1780, and the deficiencies just mentioned, would make them 31 millions. Mr. Necker (ibid. p. 219), without making any allowance for this increase, and for deficiencies, states them in 1784 at only 24,802,580, in consequence of multiplying the *births* by $25\frac{3}{4}$. But I reckon that in whole kingdoms the proportion of births to the number of inhabitants much more variable than the proportion of deaths; possibly,

he was not acquainted with the facts here stated, and many others of the same kind which may be found in the Treatise on Annuities to which I have referred, and which prove that the *lowest* multiplier of the annual medium of deaths which should be used to find the number of inhabitants in a whole kingdom, is 32 or 33. In *Sweden* and the kingdom of *Naples* it appears to be greater; but, if we suppose 33 the right multiplier, the inhabitants of France must have been in 1780, 27½ millions; and the increase since, with the deficiencies in the returns, will make it highly probable that, even on this supposition, they must be now near 30 millions.

If the births in Sweden are taken for guides in this case, it will be reasonable, in order to find the right multiplier, to increase it for FRANCE in the same proportion that the *ratio* of the excess of the births above the deaths there is less than the same ratio in SWEDEN. And this will make the proper multiplier of the *births* in *France* 30 nearly, and will give the number of inhabitants in 1780 near 29 millions, as before. I wish there were equal *data* for determining the number of people in BRITAIN.

The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, *which has been agreed to by the National Assembly of* FRANCE, *and sanctioned by the King, and which forms the* Basis *of the new Constitution of* FRANCE, *contains such an authority for some of the sentiments in the foregoing Discourse, and holds out to the world an instruction on the subject of Civil Government of such consequence, that I cannot help inserting here the following* Translation *of it.*

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND OF CITIZENS,

By the National Assembly of FRANCE.

THE Representatives of the people of France formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights: that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: That the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected: and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons, the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following *sacred* rights of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty consists in the power of

doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every *other* man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensible, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his *religious*

opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

I hope I shall be excused for taking the liberty to offer the following remarks on the *tenth* of these articles:

INTOLERANCE IN RELIGION, and RESTRAINTS on the DISCUSSION of speculative points, have been some of the chief causes of the slow progress of human improvement, and of the miseries of the

world. I could therefore have wished to see, in such an instruction to the world as this declaration contains, an article strongly marking and reprobating these evils. This tenth article does not, I think, sufficiently answer this purpose. For it is obvious, that in TURKEY, writing against Mahomet; in SPAIN, against the Inquisition; and in every country, against its established doctrines, is a disturbance of public order established by law; and, therefore, according to this article, punishable.

The *eleventh* article is worthy of the very respectable proposer of it, but in some degree liable to the same objection. Laws may be unjust, and determine the fairest discussions of speculative points, and the best publications, to be abuses of liberty. At ROME, a few years ago, the publication of one of the greatest productions of human genius was deemed an abuse of liberty, and prohibited, because it asserted the motion of the earth. Even in ENGLAND, at this day, its laws determine every thing written or spoken against the doctrine of the Trinity, to be an offence punishable by fines and imprisonment.

The declaration that would best meet my wishes in this instance would be:

'That every man has a right to profess and 'practise, without molestation or the loss of any 'civil privilege, that mode of religious faith and 'worship which he thinks most acceptable to his 'Maker; and also to discuss freely by speaking, 'writing, and publishing all speculative points, 'provided he does not by any *overt* act or *direct* 'invasion of the rights of others, break the peace, 'or attempt to injure any one in his person, 'property, or good name.'

In a Tract on the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, I have given an account of the reasons, which in my opinion require such an extent of religious and intellectual liberty as these words imply; and

which prove that civil power, without concerning itself about opinions or the *tendencies* of opinions, ought to confine itself to the preservation of peace and the protection of universal liberty, as far as it is not employed to injure itself.

The tenth article, on which I have here remarked, was probably a compromise between opposite sentiments in the National Assembly of FRANCE, and may, I hope, in some future time, be re-considered. *M. Rabaud de St. Etienne*, a protestant clergyman, and a member of the Assembly, delivered a speech against it full of eloquence and the justest sentiments. This speech was afterwards printed, and circulated at *Paris*; and I cannot help wishing that a translation of it, as there printed, may be soon published and circulated in this kingdom.

SOCIETY for commemorating the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

At the Anniversary Meeting of this Society, held at the London Tavern, NOV. 4, 1789.

The Rt. Hon. Earl STANHOPE in the Chair,

A Report from the Committee was brought up, from which the following is an extract:

'Your Committee are persuaded, that by the union of the friends of freedom, their rights are ascertained and established; and trusting that it will be highly honourable to avow ourselves, in the most explicit manner, advocates for the pure and genuine principles of civil and religious liberty, they have with this view prepared a book, in which those gentlemen who are inclined to let their names be transmitted to posterity, as the friends of the great and glorious Revolution of 1688, may insert them after the following preamble, and a declaration of assent to the three following propositions.

PREAMBLE.

This Society, sensible of the important advantages arising to this country by its deliverance from popery and arbitrary power, and conscious that, under God, we owe that signal blessing to the Revolution, which seated our deliverer King William the Third on the throne; do hereby declare our firm attachment to the civil and religious principles which were recognized and established by that glorious event, and which has preserved the succession in the protestant line; and our determined resolution to maintain, and, to the utmost of our power, to perpetuate, those blessings to the latest posterity.

THREE PROPOSITIONS *containing the fundamental principles of the Society*:

1. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.
2. That the abuse of power justifies resistance.
3. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, trial by jury, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held sacred and inviolable.

The Committee farther resolved,

That in order to cause the principles of the Revolution to be well understood, extensively propagated, and firmly maintained; and to preserve the glorious fabric of the British Constitution; and to transmit the invaluable blessings of public freedom to posterity, unimpaired and improved, it becomes the people to establish societies throughout the kingdom upon Revolution principles, to maintain a correspondence with each other, and to form that grand concentrated union of the true friends of public liberty, which may be necessary to maintain its existence.

The Committee concluded their Report with con-

gratulating the members of the Society, as Britons, and citizens of the world, upon that noble spirit of civil and religious liberty which had, since the last meeting, so conspicuously shone forth on the continent, more especially on the glorious success of the French Revolution ; and with expressing their ardent wishes that the influence of so glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and despotism shall be swept from the face of the globe, and universal liberty and happiness prevail.

Dr. Price then moved, and it was unanimously resolved, that the following Congratulatory Address to the National Assembly of France, be transmitted to them, signed by the Chairman :

' The Society for commemorating the Revolution ' in Great Britain, disdaining national partialities, ' and rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and ' justice over arbitrary power, offer to the National ' Assembly of France their congratulations on the ' Revolution in that country, and on the prospect ' it gives to the two first kingdoms in the world, ' of a common participation in the blessings of ' civil and religious liberty.

' They cannot help adding their ardent wishes of ' an happy settlement of so important a Revolu- ' tion, and at the same time expressing the par- ' ticular satisfaction, with which they reflect on the ' tendency of the glorious example given in France ' to encourage other nations to assert the unalien- ' able rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce ' a general reformation in the governments of ' Europe, and to make the world free and happy.

' STANHOPE.'

A PROPOSAL FOR PUTTING REFORM TO THE VOTE

BY

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

1792–1822

A PROPOSAL FOR PUTTING REFORM TO THE VOTE THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM

By the Hermit of Marlow

[1817. A full cup of bitterness was at Shelley's lips about the time that this piece was written. Harriett had committed suicide a few months earlier, and at the beginning of 1817 a chancery suit was in process against Shelley, touching the question of the custody of his children. But the country was even more distressed politically than Shelley was emotionally, and he turned his thoughts to devising a scheme of truly democratic government. The *Proposal* was published (by Ollier) in March 1817, shortly after Shelley and Mary had moved to Albion House, Marlow. The change of residence provided him with a *nom de plume* —The Hermit of Marlow—wherewith to screen his pamphlet from such disadvantages of notoriety as attached to his own name.]

A PROPOSAL, &c.

A GREAT question is now agitating in this nation, which no man or party of men is competent to decide ; indeed there are no materials of evidence which can afford a foresight of the result. Yet on its issue depends whether we are to be slaves or free men.

It is needless to recapitulate all that has been said about Reform. Every one is agreed that the House of Commons is not a representation of the people. The only theoretical question that remains is, whether the people ought to legislate for themselves, or be governed by laws and impoverished by taxes originating in the edicts of an assembly which represents somewhat less than a thousandth part of the entire community. I think they ought not to be so taxed and governed. An hospital for lunatics is the only theatre where we can conceive so mournful a comedy to be exhibited as this mighty nation now exhibits : a single person bullying and swindling a thousand of his comrades out of all they possessed in the world, and then trampling and spitting upon them, though he were the most contemptible and degraded of mankind, and they had strength in their arms and courage in their hearts. Such a parable realized in political society is a spectacle worthy of the utmost indignation and abhorrence.

The prerogatives of Parliament constitute a sovereignty which is exercised in contempt of the People, and it is in strict consistency with the laws of human nature that it should have been exercised for the

People's misery and ruin. Those whom they despise, men instinctively seek to render slavish and wretched, that their scorn may be secure. It is the object of the Reformers to restore the People to a sovereignty thus held in their contempt. It is my object, or I would be silent now.

Servitude is sometimes voluntary. Perhaps the People choose to be enslaved ; perhaps it is their will to be degraded and ignorant and famished ; perhaps custom is their only God, and they its fanatic worshippers will shiver in frost and waste in famine rather than deny that idol, perhaps the majority of this nation decree that they will not be represented in Parliament, that they will not deprive of power those who have reduced them to the miserable condition in which they now exist. It is *their* will—it is their own concern. If such be their decision, the champions of the rights and the mourners over the errors and calamities of man, must retire to their homes in silence, until accumulated sufferings shall have produced the effect of reason.

The question now at issue is, whether the majority of the adult individuals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland desire or no a complete representation in the Legislative Assembly.

I have no doubt that such is their will, and I believe this is the opinion of most persons conversant with the state of the public feeling. But the fact ought to be formally ascertained before we proceed. If the majority of the adult population should solemnly state their desire to be, that the representatives whom they might appoint should constitute the Commons House of Parliament, there is an end to the dispute. Parliament would then be required, not petitioned, to prepare some effectual plan for carry-

ing the general will into effect; and if Parliament should then refuse, the consequences of the contest that might ensue would rest on its presumption and temerity. Parliament would have rebelled against the People then.

If the majority of the adult population shall, when seriously called upon for their opinion, determine on grounds, however erroneous, that the experiment of innovation by Reform in Parliament is an evil of greater magnitude than the consequences of misgovernment to which Parliament has afforded a constitutional sanction, then it becomes us to be silent; and we should be guilty of the great crime which I have conditionally imputed to the House of Commons, if after unequivocal evidence that it was the national will to acquiesce in the existing system we should, by partial assemblies of the multitude, or by any party acts, excite the minority to disturb this decision.

The first step towards Reform is to ascertain this point. For which purpose I think the following plan would be effectual:—

That a Meeting should be appointed to be held at the *Crown and Anchor* Tavern on the —— of ——, to take into consideration the most effectual measures for ascertaining whether or no, a Reform in Parliament is the will of the majority of the individuals of the British Nation.

That the most eloquent and the most virtuous and the most venerable among the Friends of Liberty, should employ their authority and intellect to persuade men to lay aside all animosity and even discussion respecting the topics on which they are disunited, and by the love which they bear to their suffering country conjure them to contribute all

their energies to set this great question at rest—whether the Nation desires a Reform in Parliament or no?

That the friends of Reform, residing in any part of the country, be earnestly entreated to lend perhaps their last and the decisive effort to set their hopes and fears at rest; that those who can should go to London, and those who cannot, but who yet feel that the aid of their talents might be beneficial, should address a letter to the Chairman of the Meeting, explaining their sentiments: let these letters be read aloud, let all things be transacted in the face of day. Let Resolutions, of an import similar to those that follow be proposed.

1. That those who think that it is the duty of the People of this nation to exact such a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, as should make that House a complete representation of their will, and that the People have a right to perform this duty, assemble here for the purpose of collecting evidence as to how far it is the will of the majority of the People to acquit themselves of this duty, and to exercise this right.

2. That the population of Great Britain and Ireland be divided into three hundred distinct portions, each to contain an equal number of inhabitants, and three hundred persons be commissioned, each personally to visit every individual within the district named in his commission, and to inquire whether or no that individual is willing to sign the declaration contained in the third Resolution, requesting him to annex to his signature any explanation or exposure of his sentiments which he might choose to place on record. That the following Declaration be proposed for signature:—

3. That the House of Commons does not represent the will of the People of the British Nation ; we the undersigned therefore declare, and publish, and our signatures annexed shall be evidence of our firm and solemn conviction that the liberty, the happiness, and the majesty of the great nation to which it is our boast to belong, have been brought into danger and suffered to decay through the corrupt and inadequate manner in which Members are chosen to sit in the Commons House of Parliament ; we hereby express, before God and our country, a deliberate and unbiassed persuasion, that it is our duty, if we shall be found in the minority in this great question, incessantly to petition ; if among the majority, to require and exact that that House should originate such measures of Reform as would render its Members the actual Representatives of the Nation.

4. That this Meeting shall be held day after day, until it determines on the whole detail of the plan for collecting evidence as to the will of the nation on the subject of a Reform in Parliament.

5. That this Meeting disclaims any design, however remote, of lending their sanction to the revolutionary and disorganizing schemes which have been most falsely imputed to the Friends of Reform, and declares that its object is purely constitutional.

6. That a subscription be set on foot to defray the expenses of this Plan.

In the foregoing proposal of Resolutions, to be submitted to a National Meeting of the Friends of Reform, I have purposely avoided detail. If it shall prove that I have in any degree afforded a hint to men who have earned and established their popularity by personal sacrifices and intellectual eminence such as I have not the presumption to rival, let it belong

to them to pursue and develop all suggestions relating to the great cause of liberty which has been nurtured (I am scarcely conscious of a metaphor) with their very sweat, and blood, and tears: some have tended it in dungeons, others have cherished it in famine, all have been constant to it amidst persecution and calumny, and in the face of the sanctions of power:—so accomplish what ye have begun.

I shall mention therefore only one point relating to the practical part of my Proposal. Considerable expenses, according to my present conception, would be necessarily incurred: funds should be created by subscription to meet these demands. I have an income of a thousand a year, on which I support my wife and children in decent comfort, and from which I satisfy certain large claims of general justice. Should any plan resembling that which I have proposed be determined on by you, I will give £100, being a tenth part of one year's income towards its object; and I will not deem so proudly of myself, as to believe that I shall stand alone in this respect, when any rational and consistent scheme for the public benefit shall have received the sanction of those great and good men who have devoted themselves for its preservation.

A certain degree of coalition among the sincere Friends of Reform, in whatever shape, is indispensable to the success of this proposal. The friends of Universal or of Limited Suffrage, of Annual or Triennial Parliaments, ought to settle these subjects on which they disagree, when it is known whether the Nation desires that measure on which they are all agreed. It is trivial to discuss what species of Reform shall have place, when it yet remains a question whether there will be any Reform or no.

Meanwhile, nothing remains for me but to state explicitly my sentiments on this subject of Reform. The statement is indeed quite foreign to the merits of the Proposal in itself, and I should have suppressed it until called upon to subscribe such a requisition as I have suggested, if the question which it is natural to ask, as to what are the sentiments of the person who originates the scheme, could have received in any other manner a more simple and direct reply. It appears to me that Annual Parliaments ought to be adopted as an immediate measure, as one which strongly tends to preserve the liberty and happiness of the Nation; it would enable men to cultivate those energies on which the performance of the political duties belonging to the citizen of a free state as the rightful guardian of its prosperity essentially depends; it would familiarize men with liberty by disciplining them to an habitual acquaintance with its forms. Political institution is undoubtedly susceptible of such improvements as no rational person can consider possible, so long as the present degraded condition to which the vital imperfections in the existing system of government has reduced the vast multitude of men, shall subsist. The securest method of arriving at such beneficial innovations, is to proceed gradually and with caution; or in the place of that order and freedom which the Friends of Reform assert to be violated now, anarchy and despotism will follow. Annual Parliaments have my entire assent. I will not state those general reasonings in their favour which Mr. Cobbett and other writers have already made familiar to the public mind.

With respect to Universal Suffrage, I confess I consider its adoption, in the present unprepared state of

public knowledge and feeling, a measure fraught with peril. I think that none but those who register their names as paying a certain small sum in *direct taxes* ought at present to send Members to Parliament. The consequences of the immediate extension of the elective franchise to every male adult, would be to place power in the hands of men who have been rendered brutal and torpid and ferocious by ages of slavery. It is to suppose that the qualities belonging to a demagogue are such as are sufficient to endow a legislator. I allow Major Cartwright's arguments to be unanswerable ; abstractedly it is the right of every human being to have a share in the government. But Mr. Paine's arguments are also unanswerable ; a pure republic may be shown, by inferences the most obvious and irresistible, to be that system of social order the fittest to produce the happiness and promote the genuine eminence of man. Yet nothing can less consist with reason, or afford smaller hopes of any beneficial issue, than the plan which should abolish the regal and the aristocratical branches of our constitution, before the public mind, through many gradations of improvement, shall have arrived at the maturity which can disregard these symbols of its childhood.

THOUGHTS ON THE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION

RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO THE CLERGY

BY JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

1801–90

THOUGHTS ON THE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION

RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO THE CLERGY

[1833. Newman returned from his Mediterranean health-cruise in the summer of 1833, deeply conscious of having been preserved for some notable task. He felt that the life of the national Church hung in the balance, and he was determined to withstand the proposals for its disestablishment. On July 14, 1833, Keble preached on National Apostasy in his assize sermon from the University pulpit, and this utterance, in Newman's view, marked the beginning of the Oxford Movement. *Tracts for the Times*, No. 1 of which is reprinted here, began to appear within a few weeks of Keble's sermon. The launching of this series was more or less a personal effort planned by Newman, in face of opposition from some who were otherwise closely united with him in the new religious movement. The *Tracts* were warmly approved by others of the group, however, and their representations encouraged Newman to continue. During the first year, Newman not only wrote most of the Tracts himself (a few came from the pens of Keble, William Palmer, and Arthur Perceval), but he also became a colporteur, distributing the papers among country parsonages and personally propagating doctrines which, almost a century later, retain their controversial explosiveness.]

THOUGHTS ON

THE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION

RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO THE CLERGY

I AM but one of yourselves,—a Presbyter; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them.

Is not this so? Do not we 'look one upon another', yet perform nothing? Do we not all confess the peril into which the Church is come, yet sit still each in his own retirement, as if mountains and seas cut off brother from brother? Therefore suffer me, while I try to draw you forth from those pleasant retreats, which it has been our blessedness hitherto to enjoy, to contemplate the condition and prospects of our Holy Mother in a practical way; so that one and all may unlearn that idle habit, which has grown upon us, of owning the state of things to be bad, yet doing nothing to remedy it.

Consider a moment. Is it fair, is it dutiful, to suffer our Bishops to stand the brunt of the battle without doing our part to support them? Upon them comes 'the care of all the Churches'. This cannot be helped: indeed it is their glory. Not one of us would wish in the least to deprive them of the duties, the toils, the responsibilities of their high Office. And, black event as it would be for the

country, yet, (as far as they are concerned,) we could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course, than the spoiling of their goods, and martyrdom.

To them then we willingly and affectionately relinquish their high privileges and honours; we encroach not upon the rights of the SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES; we touch not their sword and crosier. Yet surely we may be their shield-bearers in the battle without offence; and by our voice and deeds be to them what Luke and Timothy were to St. Paul.

Now then let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the Government and Country so far forget their GOD as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, *on what* will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connexions; should these secular advantages cease, on what must CHRIST's Ministers depend? Is not this a serious practical question? We know how miserable is the state of religious bodies not supported by the State. Look at the Dissenters on all sides of you, and you will see at once that their Ministers, depending simply upon the people, become the *creatures* of the people. Are you content that this should be your case? Alas! can a greater evil befal Christians, than for their teachers to be guided by them, instead of guiding? How can we 'hold fast the form of sound words', and 'keep that which is committed to our trust', if our influence is to depend simply on our popularity? Is it not our very office to *oppose* the world? can we then allow ourselves to *court* it? to preach smooth things and prophesy deceits? to

make the way of life easy to the rich and indolent, and to bribe the humbler classes by excitements and strong intoxicating doctrine? Surely it must not be so;—and the question recurs, on *what* are we to rest our authority, when the State deserts us?

CHRIST has not left His Church without claim of its own upon the attention of men. Surely not. Hard Master He cannot be, to bid us oppose the world, yet give us no credentials for so doing. There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, on their success; and others, who rest it upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own; I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built,—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT.

We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of GOD. The LORD JESUS CHRIST gave His SPIRIT to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present Bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives.

Now every one of us believes this. I know that some will at first deny they do; still they do believe it. Only, it is not sufficiently practically impressed on their minds. They *do* believe it; for it is the doctrine of the Ordination Service, which they have recognised as truth in the most solemn season of their lives. In order, then, not to prove, but to remind and impress, I entreat your attention to the words used when you were made Ministers of CHRIST's Church.

The office of Deacon was thus committed to you:

'Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee: In the name,' &c.

And the priesthood thus:

'Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work 'of a Priest, in the Church of God, now committed 'unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose 'sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and 'whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. 'And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, 'and of His Holy Sacraments: In the name,' &c.

These, I say, were words spoken to us, and received by us, when we were brought nearer to God than at any other time of our lives. I know the grace of ordination is contained in the laying on of hands, not in any form of words;—yet in our own case, (as has ever been usual in the Church,) words of blessing have accompanied the act. Thus we have confessed before God our belief, that through the Bishop who ordained us, we received the Holy Ghost, the power to bind and to loose, to administer the Sacraments, and to preach. Now *how* is he able to give these great gifts? *Whence* is his right? Are these words idle, (which would be taking God's name in vain,) or do they express merely a wish, (which surely is very far below their meaning,) or do they not rather indicate that the Speaker is conveying a gift? Surely they can mean nothing short of this. But whence, I ask, his right to do so? Has he any right, except as having received the power from those who consecrated him to be a Bishop? He could not give what he had never received. It is plain then that he but *transmits*; and that the Christian Ministry is a *succession*. And if we trace back the power of ordination from hand to hand, of course we shall

come to the Apostles at last. We know we do, as a plain historical fact; and therefore all we, who have been ordained Clergy, in the very form of our ordination acknowledged the doctrine of the APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

And for the same reason, we must necessarily consider none to be *really* ordained who have not *thus* been ordained. For if ordination is a divine ordinance, it must be necessary; and if it is not a divine ordinance, how dare we use it? Therefore all who use it, all of *us*, must consider it necessary. As well might we pretend the Sacraments are not necessary to Salvation, while we make use of the offices of the Liturgy; for when GOD appoints means of grace, they are *the* means.

I do not see how any one can escape from this plain view of the subject, (as I have already hinted,) by declaring, that the words do not mean all that they say. But only reflect what a most unseemly time for random words is that, in which Ministers are set apart for their office. Do we not adopt a Liturgy, *in order to* hinder inconsiderate idle language, and shall we, in the most sacred of all services, write down, subscribe, and use again and again forms of speech, which have not been weighed, and cannot be taken strictly?

Therefore, my dear Brethren, act up to your professions. Let it not be said that you have neglected a gift; for if you have the Spirit of the Apostles on you, surely this *is* a great gift. 'Stir up the gift of GOD which is in you.' Make much of it. Show your value of it. Keep it before your minds as an honourable badge, far higher than that secular respectability, or cultivation, or polish, or learning, or rank, which gives you a hearing with

the many. Tell *them* of your gift. The times will soon drive you to do this, if you mean to be still any thing. But wait not for the times. Do not be compelled, by the world's forsaking you to recur as if unwillingly to the high source of your authority. Speak out now, before you are forced, both as glorying in your privilege, and to ensure your rightful honour from your people. A notion has gone abroad, that they can take away your power. They think they have given and can take it away. They think it lies in the Church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness, produceable results, acceptableness to your flocks, that these and such like are the tests of your Divine commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers, the Bishops, as the Representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches ; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their Ministry.

But, if you will not adopt my view of the subject, which I offer to you, not doubtingly, yet (I hope) respectfully, at all events, CHOOSE YOUR SIDE. To remain neuter much longer will be itself to take a part. *Choose* your side ; since side you shortly must, with one or other party, even though you do nothing. Fear to be of those, whose line is decided for them by chance circumstances, and who may perchance find themselves with the enemies of CHRIST, while they think but to remove themselves from worldly politics. Such abstinence is impossible in troublous times. HE THAT IS NOT WITH ME, IS AGAINST ME, AND HE THAT GATHERETH NOT WITH ME SCATTERETH ABROAD.

CHEAP CLOTHES AND NASTY

BY CHARLES KINGSLEY

CHARLES KINGSLEY

1819–75

CHEAP CLOTHES AND NASTY

[1850. Kingsley's first use of the pseudonym affixed to this tract, Parson Lot, was for his articles in *Politics for the People*, a short-lived weekly journal started in May 1848, to discuss matters relating to the suffrage, Capital and Labour, unemployment, wages, and cognate topics. At a meeting of the founders of that journal, when a vote upon some question left him in a minority of one, Kingsley (quoting Genesis xix. 14) likened his sensations to those of Lot in the cities of the plain. Thereupon, at the suggestion of Thomas Hughes, Kingsley adopted 'Parson Lot' as his pen-name, and continued to use it for numerous later writings. *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, first published at fourpence by William Pickering, appeared in its second edition as No. 2 of the penny *Tracts by Christian Socialists*, a series in succession to the *Tracts on Christian Socialism*.]

CHEAP CLOTHES AND NASTY

KING RYENCE, says the legend of Prince Arthur, wore a paletot trimmed with kings beards. In the first French Revolution (so Carlyle assures us) there were at Meudon tanneries of human skins. Mammon, at once tyrant and revolutionary, follows both these noble examples—in a more respectable way, doubtless, for Mammon hates cruelty; bodily pain is his devil—the worst evil which he, in his effeminacy, can conceive. So he shrieks benevolently when a drunken soldier is flogged; but he trims his paletots, and adorns his legs, with the flesh of men and the skins of women, with degradation, pestilence, heathendom, and despair; and then chuckles self-complacently over the smallness of his tailors' bills. Hypocrite!—straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel! What is flogging, or hanging, King Ryence's paletot or the tanneries of Meudon, to the slavery, starvation, waste of life, year-long imprisonment in dungeons narrower and fouler than those of the Inquisition, which goes on among thousands of free English clothes-makers at this day?

'The man is mad,' says Mammon, smiling supercilious pity. Yes, Mammon; mad as Paul before Festus; and for much the same reason, too. Much learning has made us mad. From two articles in the *Morning Chronicle* of Friday, 14th December,

and Tuesday, 18th December, on the Condition of the Working Tailors, we learnt too much to leave us altogether masters of ourselves. But there is method in our madness; we can give reasons for it—satisfactory to ourselves, perhaps also to Him who made us, and you, and all tailors likewise. Will you, freshly bedizened, you and your footmen, from Nebuchadnezzar and Co.'s 'Emporium of Fashion', hear a little about how your finery is made? You are always calling out for facts, and have a firm belief in salvation by statistics. Listen to a few.

The Metropolitan Commissioner of the *Morning Chronicle* called two meetings of the Working Tailors, one in Shadwell, and the other at the Hanover Square Rooms, in order to ascertain their condition from their own lips. Both meetings were crowded. At the Hanover Square Rooms there were more than one thousand men; they were altogether unanimous in their descriptions of the misery and slavery which they endured. It appears that there are two distinct tailor trades—the 'honourable' trade, now almost confined to the West End, and rapidly dying out there, and the 'dishonourable' trade of the show-shops and slop-shops—the plate-glass palaces, where gents—and, alas! those who would be indignant at that name—buy their cheap-and-nasty clothes. The two names are the tailors' own slang; slang is true and expressive enough, though, now and then. The honourable shops in the West End number only sixty; the dishonourable, four hundred and more; while at the East End the dishonourable trade has it all its own way. The honourable part of the trade is declining at the rate of one hundred and fifty journeymen per year; the dishonourable increasing at such a rate that, in twenty years it will have

absorbed the whole tailoring trade, which employs upwards of twenty-one thousand journeymen. At the honourable shops the work is done, as it was universally thirty years ago, on the premises and at good wages. In the dishonourable trade, the work is taken home by the men, to be done at the very lowest possible prices, which decrease year by year, almost month by month. At the honourable shops, from 36s. to 24s. is paid for a piece of work for which the dishonourable shop pays from 22s. to 9s. But not to the workmen; happy is he if he really gets two-thirds, or half of that. For at the honourable shops, the master deals directly with his workmen; while at the dishonourable ones, the greater part of the work, if not the whole, is let out to contractors, or middle-men—'*sweaters*,' as their victims significantly call them—who, in their turn, let it out again, sometimes to the workmen, sometimes to fresh middle-men; so that out of the price paid for labour on each article, not only the workmen, but the sweater, and perhaps the sweater's sweater, and a third, and a fourth, and a fifth, have to draw their profit. And when the labour price has been already beaten down to the lowest possible, how much remains for the workmen after all these deductions, let the poor fellows themselves say!

One working tailor (at the Hanover Square Rooms Meeting) 'mentioned a number of shops, both at the east and west ends, whose work was all taken by sweaters; and several of these shops were under royal and noble patronage. There was one notorious sweater who kept his carriage. He was a Jew, and, of course, he gave a preference to his own sect. Thus, another Jew received it from him second hand and at a lower rate; then it went to a third—till

it came to the unfortunate Christian at perhaps the eighth rate, and he performed the work at barely living prices; this same Jew required a deposit of £5 in money before he would give out a single garment to be made. He need not describe the misery which this system entailed upon the workmen. It was well known, but it was almost impossible, except for those who had been at the two, to form an idea of the difference between the present meeting and one at the East End, where all who attended worked for slop-shops and sweaters. The present was a highly respectable assembly; the other presented no other appearance but those of misery and degradation.'

Another says—'We have all worked in the honourable trade, so we know the regular prices from our own personal experience. Taking the bad work with the good work we might earn 11s. a week upon an average. Sometimes we do earn as much as 15s.; but, to do this, we are obliged to take part of our work home to our wives and daughters. We are not always fully employed. We are nearly half our time idle. Hence, our earnings are, upon an average throughout the year, not more than 5s. 6d. a week.' 'Very often I have made only 3s. 4d. in the week,' said one. 'That 's common enough with us all, I can assure you,' said another. 'Last week my wages was 7s. 6d.,' declared one. 'I earned 6s. 4d.,' exclaimed the second. 'My wages came to 9s. 2d. The week before I got 6s. 3d.' 'I made 7s. 9d.,' and 'I 7s. or 8s., I can't exactly remember which.' 'This is what we term the best part of our winter season. The reason why we are so long idle is because more hands than are wanted are kept on the premises, so that in case of a press of work

coming in, our employers can have it done immediately. Under the day work system no master tailor had more men on the premises than he could keep continually going ; but since the change to the piece-work system, masters made a practice of engaging double the quantity of hands that they have any need for, so that an order may be executed " at the shortest possible notice ", if requisite. A man must not leave the premises when unemployed,—if he does, he loses his chance of work coming in. I have been there four days together, and had not a stitch of work to do.' 'Yes ; that is common enough.' 'Ay, and then you're told, if you complain, you can go, if you don't like it. I am sure twelve hands would do all they have done at home, and yet they keep forty of us. It 's generally remarked that, however strong and healthy a man may be when he goes to work at that shop, in a month's time he'll be a complete shadow, and have almost all his clothes in pawn. By Sunday morning, he has no money at all left, and he has to subsist till the following Saturday upon about a pint of weak tea, and four slices of bread and butter per day ! ! ! '

'Another of the reasons for the sweaters keeping more hands than they want is, the men generally have their meals with them. The more men they have with them the more breakfasts and teas they supply, and the more profit they make. The men usually have to pay 4d., and very often 5d. for their breakfast, and the same for their tea. The tea or breakfast is mostly a pint of tea or coffee, and three to four slices of bread and butter. *I worked for one sweater who almost starved the men ; the smallest eater there would not have had enough if he had got three*

times as much. They had only three thin slices of bread and butter, not sufficient for a child, and the tea was both weak and bad. The whole meal could not have stood him in 2d. a head, and what made it worse was, that the men who worked there couldn't afford to have dinners, so that they were starved to the bone. The sweater's men generally lodge where they work. A sweater usually keeps about six men. These occupy two small garrets; one room is called the kitchen, and the other the workshop; and here the whole of the six men, and the sweater, his wife, and family, live and sleep. One sweater *I worked with had four children and six men, and they, together with his wife, sister-in-law, and himself, all lived in two rooms, the largest of which was about eight feet by ten. We worked in the smallest room and slept there as well—all six of us. There were two turn-up beds in it, and we slept three in a bed. There was no chimney, and, indeed, no ventilation whatever. I was near losing my life there—the foul air of so many people working all day in the place, and sleeping there at night, was quite suffocating. Almost all the men were consumptive, and I myself attended the dispensary for disease of the lungs. The room in which we all slept was not more than six feet square. We were all sick and weak, and loth to work.* Each of the six of us paid 2s. 6d. a week for our lodging, or 15s. altogether, and I am sure such a room as we slept and worked in might be had for 1s. a week; you can get a room with a fireplace for 1s. 6d. a week. The usual sum that the men working for sweaters pay for their tea, breakfasts, and lodging is 6s. 6d. to 7s. a week, and they seldom earn more money in the week. Occasionally at the week's end they are in debt to the sweater. This is seldom for more

than 6d., for the sweater will not give them victuals if he has no work for them to do. Many who live and work at the sweater's are married men, and are obliged to keep their wives and children in lodgings by themselves. Some send them to the workhouse, others to their friends in the country. Besides the profit of the board and lodging, the sweater takes 6d. out of the price paid for every garment under 10s.; some take 1s., and I do know of one who takes as much as 2s. This man works for a large show-shop at the West End. The usual profit of the sweater, over and above the board and lodging, is 2s. out of every pound. Those who work for sweaters soon lose their clothes, and are unable to seek for other work, because they have not a coat to their back to go and seek it in. *Last week, I worked with another man at a coat for one of her Majesty's ministers, and my partner never broke his fast while he was making his half of it.* The minister dealt at a cheap West End show-shop. All the workman had the whole day and a half he was making the coat was a little tea. But sweaters' work is not so bad as Government work after all. At that, we cannot make more than 4s. or 5s. a week altogether—that is, counting the time we are running after it, of course. *Government contract work is the worst of all, and the starved-out and sweated-out tailor's last resource.* But still, Government does not do the regular trade so much harm as the cheap show and slop-shops. These houses have ruined thousands. They have cut down the prices, so that men cannot live at the work; and the masters who did and would pay better wages, are reducing the workmen's pay every day. They say they must either compete with the large show-shops or go into the *Gazette*.'

Sweet competition ! Heavenly maid !—Nowadays hymned alike by penny-a-liners and philosophers as the ground of all society—the only real preserver of the earth ! Why not of Heaven, too ? Perhaps there is competition among the angels, and Gabriel and Raphael have won their rank by doing the maximum of worship on the minimum of grace ? We shall know some day. In the meanwhile, 'these are thy works, thou parent of all good ! ' Man eating man, eaten by man, in every variety of degree and method ! why does not some enthusiastic political economist write an epic on 'The Consecration of Cannibalism ' ?

But if any one finds it pleasant to his soul to believe the poor journeymen's statements exaggerated, let him listen to one of the sweaters themselves :—

'I wish ', says he, 'that others did for the men as decently as I do. I know there are many who are living entirely upon them. Some employ as many as fourteen men. I myself worked in the house of a man who did this. The chief part of us lived, and worked, and slept together in two rooms, on the second floor. They charged 2s. 6d. per head for the lodging alone. Twelve of the workmen, I am sure, lodged in the house, and these paid altogether 30s. a week rent to the sweater. I should think the sweater paid 8s. a week for the rooms—so that he gained at least 22s. clear out of the lodging of these men, and stood at no rent himself. For the living of the men he charged—5d. for breakfasts, and the same for teas, and 8d. for dinner—or at the rate of 10s. 6d. each per head. Taking one with the other, and considering the manner in which they lived, I am certain that the cost for keeping each of them

could not have been more than 5s. This would leave 5s. 6d. clear profit on the board of each of the twelve men, or, altogether, £3 : 6s. per week; and this, added to the £1 : 2s. profit on the rent, would give £4 : 8s. for the sweater's gross profit on the board and lodging of the workmen in his place. But, besides this, he got 1s. out of each coat made on his premises, and there were twenty-one coats made there, upon an average, every week; so that, altogether, the sweater's clear gains out of the men were £5 : 9s. every week. Each man made about a coat and a half in the course of the seven days (*for they all worked on a Sunday—they were generally told to "borrow a day off the Lord"*). For this coat and a half each hand got £1 : 2 : 6, and out of it he had to pay 13s. for board and lodging; so that there was 9s. 6d. clear left. These are the profits of the sweater, and the earnings of the men engaged under him, when working for the first-rate houses. But many of the cheap houses pay as low as 8s. for the making of each dress and frock coat, and some of them as low as 6s. Hence the earnings of the men at such work would be from 9s. to 12s. per week, and the cost of their board and lodging without dinners, for these they seldom have, would be from 7s. 6d. to 8s. per week. Indeed, the men working under sweaters at such prices generally consider themselves well off if they have a shilling or two in their pockets for Sunday. The profits of the sweater, however, would be from £4 to £5 out of twelve men, working on his premises. The usual number of men working under each sweater is about six individuals; and the average rate of profit about £2 : 10s., without the sweater doing any work himself. It is very often the case that a man working under a sweater

is obliged to pawn his own coat to get any pocket-money that he may require. Over and over again the sweater makes out that he is in his debt from 1s. to 2s. at the end of the week, and when the man's coat is in pledge, he is compelled to remain imprisoned in the sweater's lodgings for months together. In some sweating places, there is an old coat kept called a "reliever", and this is borrowed by such men as have none of their own to go out in. There are very few of the sweaters' men who have a coat to their backs or a shoe to their feet to come out into the streets on Sunday. Down about Fulwood's Rents, Holborn, I am sure I would not give 6d. for the clothes that are on a dozen of them; and it is surprising to me, working and living together in such numbers and in such small close rooms, in narrow close back courts as they do, that they are not all swept off by some pestilence. I myself have seen half a dozen men at work in a room that was a little better than a bedstead long. It was as much as one could do to move between the wall and the bedstead when it was down. There were two bedsteads in this room, and they nearly filled the place when they were down. The ceiling was so low, that I couldn't stand upright in the room. There was no ventilation in the place. There was no fireplace, and only a small window. When the window was open, you could nearly touch the houses at the back, and if the room had not been at the top of the house, the men could not have seen at all in the place. The staircase was so narrow, steep, and dark, that it was difficult to grope your way to the top of the house—it was like going up a steeple. This is the usual kind of place in which the sweater's men are lodged. The reason why there

are so many Irishmen working for the sweaters is, because they are seduced over to this country by the prospect of high wages and plenty of work. They are brought over by the Cork boats at 10s. a head, and when they once get here, the prices they receive are so small, that they are unable to go back. In less than a week after they get here, their clothes are all pledged, and they are obliged to continue working under the sweaters.

'The extent to which this system of "street kidnapping" is carried on is frightful. Young tailors, fresh from the country, are decoyed by the sweaters' wives into their miserable dens, under extravagant promises of employment, to find themselves deceived, imprisoned, and starved, often unable to make their escape for months—perhaps years; and then only fleeing from one dungeon to another as abominable.'

In the meantime, the profits of the beasts of prey who live on these poor fellows—both masters and sweaters—seem as prodigious as their cruelty.

Hear another working tailor on this point:—'In 1844 I belonged to the honourable part of the trade. Our house of call supplied the present show-shop with men to work on the premises. The prices then paid were at the rate of 6d. per hour. For the same driving capes that they paid 18s. then, they give only 12s. for now. For the dress and frock coats they gave 15s. then, and now they are 14s. The paletots and shooting coats were 12s.; there was no coat made on the premises under that sum. At the end of the season, they wanted to reduce the paletots to 9s. The men refused to make them at that price, when other houses were paying as much as 15s. for them. The consequence of this was, the

house discharged all the men, and got a Jew middleman from the neighbourhood of Petticoat Lane, to agree to do them all at 7s. 6d. a piece. The Jew employed all the poor people who were at work for the slop warehouses in Houndsditch and its vicinity. This Jew makes on an average 500 paletots a week. The Jew gets 2s. 6d. profit out of each, and having no sewing trimmings allowed to him, he makes the work-people find them. The saving in trimmings alone to the firm, since the workmen left the premises, must have realised a small fortune to them. Calculating men, women, and children, I have heard it said that the cheap house at the West End employs 1000 hands. The trimmings for the work done by these would be about 6d. a week per head, so that the saving to the house since the men worked on the premises has been no less than £1300 a year, and all this taken out of the pockets of the poor. The Jew who contracts for making the paletots is no tailor at all. A few years ago he sold sponges in the street, and now he rides in his carriage. The Jew's profits are 500 half-crowns, or £60 odd, per week—that is upwards of £3000 a year. Women are mostly engaged at the paletot work. When I came to work for the cheap show-shop I had £5 : 10s. in the saving bank ; now I have not a halfpenny in it. All I had saved went little by little to keep me and my family. I have always made a point of putting some money by when I could afford it, but since I have been at this work it has been as much as I could do to *live*, much more to *save*. One of the firm for which I work has been heard publicly to declare that he employed 1000 hands constantly. Now the earnings of these at the honourable part of the trade would be upon an average, taking the

skilful with the unskilful, 15s. a week each, or £39,000 a year. But since they discharged the men from off their premises, they have cut down the wages of the workmen one-half—taking one garment with another—*though the selling prices remain the same to the public*, so that they have saved by the reduction of the workmen's wages no less than £19,500 per year. Every other quarter of a year something has been "docked" off our earnings, until it is almost impossible for men with families to live decently by their labour; and now, for the first time, they pretend to feel for them. They even talk of erecting a school for the children of their workpeople; but where is the use of erecting schools, when they know as well as we do, that at the wages they pay, the children must be working for their fathers at home? They had much better erect workshops, and employ the men on the premises at fair living wages, and then the men could educate their own children, without being indebted to their charity.'

On this last question of what the master-cannibals had 'much better do', we have somewhat to say presently. In the meantime, hear another of the things which they had much better *not* do. 'Part of the fraud and deception of the slop trade consists in the mode in which the public are made believe that the men working for such establishments earn more money than they really do. The plan practised is similar to that adopted by the army clothier, who made out that the men working on his establishment made per week from 15s. to 17s. each, whereas, on inquiry, it was found that a considerable sum was paid out of that to those who helped to do the looping for those who took it home. When a coat

is given to me to make, a ticket is handed to me with the garment, similar to this one which I have obtained from a friend of mine.

448
Mr. *Smith* 6,675 Made by *M*
Ze = 12*s*. = *lined lustre*
quilted double stitched
each side seams

448. No. 6,675.
o'clock *Friday*
Mr. *Smith*

On this you see the price is marked at 12s.', continued my informant, 'and supposing that I, with two others, could make three of these garments in the week, the sum of thirty-six shillings would stand in the books of the establishment as the amount earned by me in that space of time. This would be sure to be exhibited to the customers, immediately that there was the least outcry made about the starvation price they paid for their work, as a proof that the workpeople engaged on their establishment received the full prices; whereas, of that 36s. entered against my name, *I should have had to pay 24s. to those who assisted me;* besides this, my share of the trimmings and expenses would have been 1s. 6d., and probably my share of the fires would be 1s. more; so that the real fact would be, that I should make 9s. 6d. clear, and this it would be almost impossible to do, if I did not work long over hours. I am obliged to keep my wife continually at work helping me, in order to live.'

In short, the condition of these men is far worse than that of the wretched labourers of Wilts or Dorset. Their earnings are as low and often lower;

their trade requires a far longer instruction, far greater skill and shrewdness; their rent and food are more expensive; and their hours of work, while they have work, more than half as long again. Conceive sixteen or eighteen hours of skilled labour in a stifling and fetid chamber, earning not much more than 6s. 6d. or 7s. a week! And, as has been already mentioned in one case, the man who will earn even that, must work all Sunday. He is even liable to be thrown out of his work for refusing to work on Sunday. Why not? Is there anything about one idle day in seven to be found among the traditions of Mammon? When the demand comes, the supply must come; and will, in spite of foolish auld-warld notion about keeping days holy—or keeping contracts holy either, for, indeed, Mammon has no conscience—right and wrong are not words expressible by any commercial laws yet in vogue; and therefore it appears that to earn this wretched pittance is by no means to get it. 'For,' says one, and the practice is asserted to be general, almost universal, 'there is at our establishment a mode of reducing the price of our labour even lower than we have mentioned. The prices we have stated are those *nominally* paid for making the garments; but it is not an uncommon thing in our shop for a man to make a garment, and receive nothing at all for it. I remember a man once having a waistcoat to do, the price of making which was 2s., and when he gave the job in he was told that he owed the establishment 6d. The manner in which this is brought about is by a system of fines. We are fined if we are behind time with our job, 6d. the first hour, and 3d. for each hour that we are late.' 'I have known as much as 7s. 6d. to be deducted off the price of

a coat on the score of want of punctuality,' one said; 'and, indeed, very often the whole money is stopped. It would appear as if our employers themselves strove to make us late with our work, and so have an opportunity of cutting down the price paid for our labour. They frequently put off giving out the trimmings to us till the time at which the coat is due has expired. If to the trimmer we return an answer that is considered "saucy", we are fined 6d. or 1s., according to the trimmer's temper.' 'I was called a thief,' another of the three declared, 'and because I told the man I would not submit to such language, I was fined 6d. These are the principal of the in-door fines. The out-door fines are still more iniquitous. There are full a dozen more fines for minor offences; indeed, we are fined upon every petty pretext. We never know what we have to take on a Saturday, for the meanest advantages are taken to reduce our wages. If we object to pay these fines, we are told that we may leave; but they know full well that we are afraid to throw ourselves out of work.'

Folks are getting somewhat tired of the old rodomontade that a slave is free the moment he sets foot on British soil! Stuff!—are these tailors free? Put any conceivable sense you will on the word, and then say—are they free? We have, thank God, emancipated the black slaves; it would seem a not inconsistent sequel to that act to set about emancipating these white ones. Oh! we forgot; there is an infinite difference between the two cases—the black slaves worked for our colonies; the white slaves work for *us*. But, indeed, if, as some preach, self-interest is the mainspring of all human action, it is difficult to see who will step forward to eman-

cipate the said white slaves ; for all classes seem to consider it equally their interest to keep them as they are ; all classes, though by their own confession they are ashamed, are yet not afraid to profit by the system which keeps them down.

Not only the master tailors and their underlings, but the retail tradesmen, too, make their profit out of these abominations. By a method which smacks at first sight somewhat of benevolence, but proves itself in practice to be one of those 'precious balms which break,' not 'the head' (for that would savour of violence, and might possibly give some bodily pain, a thing intolerable to the nerves of Mammon) but the heart—an organ which, being spiritual, can of course be recognised by no laws of police or commerce. The object of the State, we are told, is 'the conservation of body and goods' ; there is nothing in that about broken hearts ; nothing which should make it a duty to forbid such a system as a working tailor here describes—

'Fifteen or twenty years ago, such a thing as a journeyman tailor having to give security before he could get work was unknown ; but now I and such as myself could not get a stitch to do first handed, if we did not either procure the security of some householder, or deposit £5 in the hands of the employer. The reason of this is, the journeymen are so badly paid that the employers know they can barely live on what they get, and consequently they are often driven to pawn the garments given out to them, in order to save themselves and their families from starving. If the journeyman can manage to scrape together £5, he has to leave it in the hands of his employer all the time that he is working for the house. I know one person who gives out the

work for a fashionable West End slop-shop that will not take household security, and requires £5 from each hand. I am informed by one of the parties who worked for this man that he has as many as 150 hands in his employ, and that each of these has placed £5 in his hands, so that altogether the poor people have handed over £750 to increase the capital upon which he trades, and for which he pays no interest whatsoever.'

This recalls a similar case (mentioned by a poor stay-stitcher in another letter, published in the *Morning Chronicle*), of a large wholesale staymaker in the City, who had amassed a large fortune by beginning to trade upon the 5s. which he demanded to be left in his hands by his workpeople before he gave them employment.

'Two or three years back one of the slop-sellers at the East End became bankrupt, and the poor people lost all the money that had been deposited as security for work in his hands. The journeymen who get the security of householders are enabled to do so by a system which is now in general practice at the East End. Several bakers, publicans, chandler-shop keepers, and coal-shed keepers, make a trade of becoming security for those seeking slop-work. They consent to be responsible for the workpeople upon the condition of the men dealing at their shops. The workpeople who require such security are generally very good customers, from the fact of their either having large families, all engaged in the same work, or else several females or males working under them, and living at their house. The parties becoming securities thus not only greatly increase their trade, but furnish a second-rate article at a first-rate price. It is useless to complain of the bad

quality or high price of the articles supplied by the securities, for the shopkeepers know, as well as the workpeople, that it is impossible for the hands to leave them without losing their work. I know one baker whose security was refused at the slop-shop because he was already responsible for so many, and he begged the publican to be his deputy, so that by this means the workpeople were obliged to deal at both baker's and publican's too. I never heard of a butcher making a trade of becoming security, *because the slopwork people cannot afford to consume much meat.*

'The same system is also pursued by lodging-house keepers. They will become responsible if the workmen requiring security will undertake to lodge at their house.'

But of course the men most interested in keeping up the system are those who buy the clothes of these cheap shops. And who are they? Not merely the blackguard gent—the butt of Albert Smith and Punch, who flaunts at the Casinos and Cremorne Gardens in vulgar finery wrung out of the souls and bodies of the poor; not merely the poor lawyer's clerk or reduced half-pay officer who has to struggle to look as respectable as his class commands him to look on a pittance often no larger than that of the day labourer—no, strange to say—and yet not strange, considering our modern eleventh commandment—' Buy cheap and sell dear,' the richest as well as the poorest imitate the example of King Ryence and the tanners of Meudon. At a great show establishment—to take one instance out of many—the very one where, as we heard just now, 'however strong and healthy a man may be when he goes to work at that shop, in a month's time he will be

a complete shadow, and have almost all his clothes in pawn '—

'We have also made garments for Sir —— ——, Sir —— ——, Alderman ——, Dr. ——, and Dr. ——. We make for several of the aristocracy. We cannot say whom, because the tickets frequently come to us as Lord —— and the Marquis of ——. This could not be a Jew's trick, because the buttons on the liveries had coronets upon them. And again, we know the house is patronised largely by the aristocracy, clergy, and gentry, by the number of court-suits and liveries, surplices, regimentals, and ladies' riding-habits that we continually have to make up. *There are more clergymen among the customers than any other class, and often we have to work at home upon the Sunday at their clothes, in order to get a living.* The customers are mostly ashamed of dealing at this house, for the men who take the clothes to the customers' houses in the cart have directions to pull up at the corner of the street. We had a good proof of the dislike of gentlefolks to have it known that they dealt at that shop for their clothes, for when the trousers buttons were stamped with the name of the firm, we used to have the garments returned, daily, to have other buttons put on them, and now the buttons are unstamped ' ! ! !

We shall make no comment on this extract. It needs none. If these men know how their clothes are made, they are past contempt. Afraid of man, and not afraid of God ! As if His eye could not see the cart laden with the plunder of the poor, because it stopped round the corner ? If, on the other hand, they do *not* know these things, and doubtless the majority do not,—it is their sin that they do not know it. Woe to a society whose only apology to

God and man is, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Men ought to know the condition of those by whose labour they live. Had the question been the investment of a few pounds in a speculation, these gentlemen would have been careful enough about good security. Ought they to take no security when they invest their money in clothes, that they are not putting on their backs accursed garments, offered in sacrifice to devils, reeking with the sighs of the starving, tainted—yes, tainted, indeed, for it comes out now that diseases numberless are carried home in these same garments from the miserable abodes where they are made. Evidence to this effect was given in 1844; but Mammon was too busy to attend to it. These wretched creatures, when they have pawned their own clothes and bedding, will use as substitutes the very garments they are making. So Lord ——'s coat has been seen covering a group of children blotched with small-pox. The Rev. D—— finds himself suddenly unpresentable from a cutaneous disease, which it is not polite to mention on the south of Tweed, little dreaming that the shivering dirty being who made his coat has been sitting with his arms in the sleeves for warmth while he stitched at the tails. The charming Miss C—— is swept off by typhus or scarlatina, and her parents talk about 'God's heavy judgment and visitation' —had they tracked the girl's new riding-habit back to the stifling undrained hovel where it served as a blanket to the fever-stricken slopworker, they would have seen *why* God had visited them, seen that His judgments are true judgments, and give His plain opinion of the system which 'speaketh good of the covetous whom God abhorreth'—a system, to use the words of the *Morning Chronicle's*

correspondent, ‘unheard of and unparalleled in the history of any country—a scheme so deeply laid for the introduction and supply of under-paid labour to the market, that it is impossible for the working man not to sink and be degraded by it into the lowest depths of wretchedness and infamy—a system which is steadily and gradually increasing, and sucking more and more victims out of the honourable trade, who are really intelligent artisans, living in comparative comfort and civilisation, into the dishonourable or sweating trade in which the slopworkers are generally almost brutified by their incessant toil, wretched pay, miserable food, and filthy homes.’

But to us, almost the worst feature in the whole matter is, that the Government are not merely parties to, but actually the originators of this system. The contract system, as a working tailor stated, in the name of the rest, ‘had been mainly instrumental in destroying the living wages of the working man. Now, the Government were the sole originators of the system of contracts and of sweating. Forty years ago, there was nothing known of contracts, except Government contracts; and at that period the contractors were confined to making slops for the navy, the army, and the West India slaves. It was never dreamt of then that such a system was to come into operation in the better classes of trade, till ultimately it was destructive of masters as well as men. The Government having been the cause of the contract system, and consequently of the sweating system, he called upon them to abandon it. The sweating system had established the show-shops and the ticket system, both of which were countenanced by the Government, till it had become a fashion to support them.

'Even the Court assisted to keep the system in fashion, and the royal arms and royal warrants were now exhibited common enough by slopsellers.'

'Government said, its duty was to do justice. But was it consistent with justice to pay only 2s. 6d. for making navy jackets, which would be paid 10s. for by every "honourable" tradesman? Was it consistent with justice for the Government to pay for Royal Marine clothing (private's coat and epaulettes) 1s. 9d.? Was it consistent with justice for the Government to pay for making a pair of trousers (four or five hours' work) only 2½d.? And yet, when a contractor, noted for paying just wages to those he employed, brought this under the consideration of the Admiralty, they declared they had nothing to do with it. Here is their answer:—

'ADMIRALTY, *March* 19, 1847.

'Sir—Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 8th inst., calling their attention to the extremely low prices paid for making up articles of clothing, provided for her Majesty's naval service, I am commanded by their lordships to acquaint you that they have no control whatever over the wages paid for making up contract clothing. Their duty is to take care that the articles supplied are of good quality, and well made: the cost of the material and the workmanship are matters which rest with the contractor; and if the public were to pay him a higher price than that demanded, it would not ensure any advantage to the men employed by him, as their wages depend upon the amount of competition for employment amongst themselves.

'I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

'H. G. WARD.

'W. Shaw, Esq.'

Oh most impotent conclusion, however officially cautious, and 'philosophically' correct! Even if the wages did depend entirely on the amount of competition, on whom does the amount of competition depend? Merely on the gross numbers of the workmen? Somewhat, too, one would think, on the system according to which the labour and the wages are distributed. But right or wrong, is it not a pleasant answer for the poor working tailors, and one likely to increase their faith, hope, and charity towards the present commercial system, and those who deny the possibility of any other?

'The Government', says another tailor at the same meeting, 'had really been the means of reducing prices in the tailoring trade to so low a scale that no human being, whatever his industry, could live and be happy in his lot. The Government were really responsible for the first introduction of female labour. He would clearly prove what he had stated. He would refer first to the army clothing. Our soldiers were comfortably clothed, as they had a right to be; but surely the men who made the clothing which was so comfortable, ought to be paid for their labour so as to be able to keep themselves comfortable and their families virtuous. But it was in evidence, that the persons working upon army clothing could not, upon an average, earn more than 1s. a day. Another Government department, the post-office, afforded a considerable amount of employment to tailors; but those who worked upon the post-office clothing earned, at the most, only 1s. 6d. a day. The police clothing was another considerable branch of tailoring; this, like the others, ought to be paid for at living prices; but the men at work at it could only earn 1s. 6d. a day, supposing

them to work hard all the time, fourteen or fifteen hours. The Custom House clothing gave about the same prices. Now, all these sorts of work were performed by time workers, who, as a natural consequence of the wages they received, were the most miserable of human beings. Husband, wife, and family all worked at it; they just tried to breathe upon it; to live it never could be called. *Yet the same Government which paid such wretched wages, called upon the wretched people to be industrious, to be virtuous, and happy.* How was it possible, whatever their industry, to be virtuous and happy? The fact was, the men who, at the slack season, had been compelled to fall back upon these kinds of work, became so beggared and broken down by it, notwithstanding the assistance of their wives and families, that they were never able to rise out of it.'

And now comes the question—What is to be done with these poor tailors, to the number of between fifteen and twenty thousand? Their condition, as it stands, is simply one of ever-increasing darkness and despair. The system which is ruining them is daily spreading, deepening. While we write, fresh victims are being driven by penury into the slop-working trade, fresh depreciations of labour are taking place. Like Ulysses's companions in the cave of Polyphemus, the only question among them is, to scramble so far back as to have *a chance of being eaten at last.* Before them is ever-nearing slavery, disease, and starvation. What can be done?

First—this can be done. That no man who calls himself a Christian—no man who calls himself a man—shall ever disgrace himself by dealing at any show-shop or slop-shop. It is easy enough to know them. The ticketed garments, the impudent puffs, the

trumpery decorations, proclaim them,—every one knows them at first sight. He who pretends not to do so is simply either a fool or a liar. Let no man enter them—they are the temples of Moloch—their thresholds are rank with human blood. God's curse is on them, and on those who, by supporting them, are partakers of their sins. Above all, let no clergyman deal at them. Poverty—and many clergymen are poor—doubly poor, because society often requires them to keep up the dress of gentlemen on the income of an artisan ; because, too, the demands on their charity are quadruple those of any other class—yet poverty is no excuse. The thing is damnable—not Christianity only, but common humanity cries out against it. Woe to those who dare to outrage in private the principles which they preach in public ! God is not mocked ; and His curse will find out the priest at the altar, as well as the nobleman in his castle.

But it is so hard to deprive the public of the luxury of cheap clothes ! Then let the public look out for some other means of procuring that priceless blessing. If that, on experiment, be found impossible—if the comfort of the few be for ever to be bought by the misery of the many—if civilisation is to benefit every one except the producing class—then this world is truly the devil's world, and the sooner so ill-constructed and infernal a machine is destroyed by that personage, the better.

But let, secondly, a dozen, or fifty, or a hundred journeymen say to one another : 'It is competition that is ruining us, and competition is division, disunion, every man for himself, every man against his brother. The remedy must be in association, cooperation, self-sacrifice for the sake of one another.

We can work together at the honourable tailor's workshop—we can work and live together in the sweater's den for the profit of our employers; why should we not work and live together in our own workshops, or our own homes, for our own profit? The journeymen of the honourable trade are just as much interested as the slopworkers in putting down sweaters and slopsellers, since their numbers are constantly decreasing, so that their turn must come some day. Let them, if no one else does, lend money to allow us to set up a workshop of our own, a shop of our own. If the money be not lent, still let us stint and strain ourselves to the very bone, if it were only to raise one sweater's security-money, which one of us should pay into the slopseller's hands, in his own name, but on behalf of all: that will at least save one sweater's profit out of our labour, and bestow it upon ourselves; and we will not spend that profit, but hoard it, till we have squeezed out all the sweaters one by one. Then we will open our common shop, and sell at as low a price as the cheapest of the show-shops. We *can* do this, —by the abolition of sweaters' profits,—by the using, as far as possible, of one set of fires, lights, rooms, kitchens, and washhouses,—above all, by being true and faithful to one another, as all partners should be. And, then, all that the master slopsellers had better do, will be simply to vanish and become extinct.'

And again, let one man, or half a dozen men arise, who believe that the world is not the devil's world at all, but God's: that the multitude of the people is not, as Malthusians aver, the ruin, but as Solomon believed, 'the strength of the rulers'; that men are not meant to be beasts of prey, eating one

another up by competition, as in some confined pike pond, where the great pike, having despatched the little ones, begin to devour each other, till one overgrown monster is left alone to die of starvation. Let a few men who have money, and believe that, arise to play the man.

Let them help and foster the growth of association by all means. Let them advise the honourable tailors, while it is time, to save themselves from being degraded into slopsellers by admitting their journeymen to a share in profits. Let them encourage the journeymen to compete with Nebuchadnezzar and Co. at their own game. Let them tell those journeymen that the experiment is even now being tried, and, in many instances successfully, by no less than one hundred and four associations of journeymen in Paris. Let them remind them of that Great Name which the Parisian 'ouvrier' so often forgets—of Him whose everlasting Fatherhood is the sole ground of all human brotherhood, whose wise and loving will is the sole source of all perfect order and government. Let them, as soon as an association is formed, provide for them a properly ventilated workshop, and let it out to the associate tailors at a low, fair rent. I believe that they will not lose by it—because it is right. God will take care of their money. The world, it comes out now, is so well ordered by Him, that model lodging-houses, public baths, wash-houses, insurance offices, all pay a reasonable profit to those who invest money in them—perhaps associate workshops may do the same. At all events, the owners of these show-shops realise a far higher profit than need be, while the buildings required for a tailoring establishment are surely not more costly than those absurd plate-glass

fronts, and brass scroll-work chandeliers, and puffs, and paid poets. A large house might thus be taken, in some central situation, the upper floors of which might be fitted up as model lodging-rooms for the tailor's trade alone. The drawing-room floor might be the work-room; on the ground floor the shop; and, if possible, a room of call or registration office for unemployed journeymen, and a reading-room. Why should not this succeed, if the owners of the house and the workers who rent it are only true to one another? Every tyro in political economy knows that association involves a saving both of labour and of capital. Why should it not succeed, when every one connected with the establishment, landlords and workmen, will have an interest in increasing its prosperity, and none whatever in lowering the wages of any party employed?

But above all, so soon as these men are found working together for common profit, in the spirit of mutual self-sacrifice, let every gentleman and every Christian, who has ever dealt with, or could ever have dealt with, Nebuchadnezzar and Co., or their fellows, make it a point of honour and conscience to deal with the associated workmen, and get others to do the like. *It is by securing custom, far more than by gifts or loans of money, that we can help the operatives.* We should but hang a useless burthen of debt round their necks by advancing capital, without affording them the means of disposing of their produce.

Be assured, that the finding of a tailors' model lodging-house, work-rooms, and shop, and the letting out of the two latter to an association, would be a righteous act to do. If the plan does not pay, what then? only a part of the money can be lost;

and to have given that to an hospital or an almshouse would have been called praiseworthy and Christian charity; how much more to have spent it not in the cure, but in the prevention of evil—in making almshouses less needful, and lessening the number of candidates for the hospital!

Regulations as to police order, and temperance, the workmen must, and, if they are worthy of the name of free men, they can organise for themselves. Let them remember that an association of labour is very different from an association of capital. The capitalist only embarks his money on the venture; the workman embarks his time—that is, much at least of his life. Still more different is the operatives' association from the single capitalist, seeking only to realise a rapid fortune, and then withdraw. The association knows no withdrawal from business; it must grow in length and in breadth, outlasting rival slopsellers, swallowing up all associations similar to itself, and which might end by competing with it. 'Monopoly!' cries a free-trader, with hair on end. Not so, good friend; there will be no real free trade without association. Who tells you that tailors' associations are to be the only ones?

Some such thing, as I have hinted, might surely be done. Where there is a will there is a way. No doubt there are difficulties—Howard and Elizabeth Fry, too, had their difficulties. Brindley and Brunel did not succeed at the first trial. It is the sluggard only who is always crying, 'There is a lion in the streets.' Be daring—trust in God, and He will fight for you; man of money, whom these words have touched, godliness has the promise of this life, as well as of that to come. The thing must be done, and speedily; for if it be not done by fair means,

it will surely do itself by foul. The continual struggle of competition, not only in the tailors' trade, but in every one which is not, like the navigators' or engineers', at a premium from its novel and extraordinary demand, will weaken and undermine more and more the masters, who are already many of them speculating on borrowed capital, while it will depress the workmen to a point at which life will become utterly intolerable; increasing education will serve only to make them the more conscious of their own misery; the boiler will be strained to bursting pitch, till some jar, some slight crisis, suddenly directs the imprisoned forces to one point, and then——

What then?

Look at France, and see.

PARSON LOT.

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS

BY H. G. WELLS

HERBERT GEORGE WELLS

Born 1866

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS

[1907. Before its publication as a Fabian Tract, the substance of the following essay appeared in the *Independent Review* for December 1905. Mr. Wells's attachment to Fabian Socialism was but one phase of his mental pilgrimage, and the interest of this tract now lies perhaps less in the field of ideas than in that of autobiography. The personal glimpses of childhood here afforded help that composite picture of the author which readers are tempted to construct out of characteristics taken from Mr. Polly, Mr. Hoopdriver, Mr. Lewisham, Arty Kipps, and George Ponderevo.]

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS

I. The World as Boots and Superstructure

'It does not do', said a friend of mine, 'to think about boots.' For my own part, I have always been particularly inclined to look at boots, and think about them. I have an odd idea that most general questions can be expressed in terms of foot-wear—which is perhaps why cobblers are often such philosophical men. Accident, it may be, gave me this persuasion. A very considerable part of my childhood was spent in an underground kitchen; the window opened upon a bricked-in space, surmounted by a grating before my father's shop window. So that, when I looked out of the window, instead of seeing—as children of a higher upbringing would do—the heads and bodies of people, I saw their under side. I got acquainted indeed with all sorts of social types as boots simply, indeed, as the soles of boots; and only subsequently, and with care, have I fitted heads, bodies, and legs to these pediments.

There would come boots and shoes (no doubt holding people) to stare at the shop, finicking, neat little women's boots, good sorts and bad sorts, fresh and new, worn crooked in the tread, patched or needing patching; men's boots, clumsy and fine, rubber shoes, tennis shoes, goloshes. Brown shoes I never beheld— it was before that time; but I have seen pattens. Boots used to come and commune

at the window, duets that marked their emotional development by a restlessness or a kick. . . . But anyhow, that explains my pre-occupation with boots.

But my friend did not think it *did*, to think about boots.

My friend was a realistic novelist, and a man from whom hope had departed. I cannot tell you how hope had gone out of his life ; some subtle disease of the soul had robbed him at last of any enterprise, or belief in coming things ; and he was trying to live the few declining years that lay before him in a sort of bookish comfort, among surroundings that seemed peaceful and beautiful, by not thinking of things that were painful and cruel. And we met a tramp who limped along the lane.

'Chafed heel,' I said, when we had parted from him again ; 'and on these pebbly byways no man goes barefooted.' My friend winced ; and a little silence came between us. We were both recalling things ; and then for a time, when we began to talk again, until he would have no more of it, we rehearsed the miseries of boots.

We agreed that to a very great majority of people in this country boots are constantly a source of distress, giving pain and discomfort, causing trouble, causing anxiety. We tried to present the thing in a concrete form to our own minds by hazardous statistical inventions. 'At the present moment,' said I, 'one person in ten in these islands is in discomfort through boots.'

My friend thought it was nearer one in five.

'In the life of a poor man or a poor man's wife, and still more in the lives of their children, this misery of the boot occurs and recurs—every year so many days.'

We made a sort of classification of these troubles. There is the TROUBLE OF THE NEW BOOT.

(i) They are made of some bad, unventilated material ; and ' draw the feet ', as people say.

(ii) They do not fit exactly. Most people have to buy ready-made boots ; they cannot afford others, and, in the submissive philosophy of poverty, they wear them to ' get used ' to them. This gives you the little-toe pinch, the big-toe pinch, the squeeze and swelling across the foot ; and, as a sort of chronic development of these pressures, come corns and all the misery of corns. Children's feet get distorted for good by this method of fitting the human being to the thing ; and a vast number of people in the world are, as a consequence of this, ashamed to appear barefooted. (I used to press people who came to see me in the warm weather to play Badminton barefooted on the grass—a delightful thing to do—until I found that many were embarrassed at the thought of displaying twisted toes and corns, and such-like disfigurements.)

(iii) The third trouble of new boots is this : they are unseasoned and in bad condition, and so they squeak and make themselves an insulting commentary on one's ways.

But these are but trifling troubles to what arises as the boots get into wear. Then it is the pinch comes in earnest. Of these TROUBLES OF THE WORN BOOT, I and my friend, before he desisted, reckoned up three principal classes.

(i) There are the various sorts of chafe. Worst of the chafes is the heel chafe, when something goes wrong with the upright support at the heel. This, as a boy, I have had to endure for days together ; because there were no other boots for me. Then

there is the chafe that comes when that inner lining of the boot rucks up—very like the chafe it is that poor people are always getting from over-darned and hastily-darned socks. And then there is the chafe that comes from the ready-made boots one has got a trifle too large or long, in order to avoid the pinch and corns. After a little while, there comes a transverse crease across the loose-fitting forepart; and, when the boot stiffens from wet or any cause, it chafes across the base of the toes. And I have a very lively recollection too of the chafe of the knots one made to mend broken laces—one cannot be always buying new laces, and the knots used to work inward. And then the chafe of the crumpled tongue.

(ii) Then there are the miseries that come from the wear of the sole. There is the rick of the ankle because the heel has gone over, and the sense of insecurity; and there is the miserable sense of not looking well from behind that many must feel. It is almost painful to me to walk behind girls who work out, and go to and fro, consuming much footwear, for this very reason, that their heels seem always to wear askew. Girls ought always to be so beautiful, most girls could be so beautiful, that to see their poor feet askew, the grace of their walk gone, a sort of spinal curvature induced, makes me wretched, and angry with a world that treats them so. And then there is the working through of nails, nails in the shoe. One limps on manfully in the hope presently of a quiet moment and a quiet corner in which one may hammer the thing down again. Thirdly, under this heading I recall the flapping sole. My boots always came to that stage at last; I wore the toes out first, and then the sole split from before

backwards. As one walked it began catching the ground. One made fantastic paces to prevent it happening ; one was dreadfully ashamed. At last one was forced to sit by the wayside frankly, and cut the flap away.

(iii) Our third class of miseries we made of splitting and leaks. These are for the most part mental miseries, the feeling of shabbiness as one sees the ugly yawn, for example, between the toe-cap and the main upper of the boot ; but they involve also chills, colds, and a long string of disagreeable consequences. And we spoke too of the misery of sitting down to work (as multitudes of London school children do every wet morning) in boots with soles worn thin or into actual holes, that have got wet and chilling on the way to the workplace. . . .

From these instances my mind ran on to others. I made a discovery. I had always despised the common run of poor Londoners for not spending their Sundays and holidays in sturdy walks, the very best of exercises. I had allowed myself to say when I found myself one summer day at Margate : 'What a soft lot these young people must be who loaf about the bandstand here, when they might be tramping over the Kentish hills inland ! ' But now I repented me of that. Long tramps indeed ! Their boots would have hurt them. Their boots would not stand it. I saw it all.

And now my discourse was fairly under way. '*Ex pede Herculem*,' I said ; 'these miseries of boots are no more than a sample. The clothes people wear are no better than their boots ; and the houses they live in far worse. And think of the shoddy garment of ideas and misconceptions and partial statements into which their poor minds have been jammed by

way of education ! Think of the way *that* pinches and chafes them ! If one expanded the miseries of these things. . . . Think, for example, of the results of poor, bad, unwise food, of badly-managed eyes and ears and teeth ! Think of the quantity of toothache.'

' I tell you, it does not *do* to think of such things ! ' cried my friend, in a sort of anguish ; and would have no more of it at any price. . . .

And yet in his time he had written books full of these very matters, before despair overtook him.

II. People whose Boots don't hurt them.

Well, I did not talk merely to torment him ; nor have I written this merely to torment you. You see I have a persistent persuasion that all these miseries are preventable miseries, which it lies in the power of men to cure.

Everybody does not suffer misery from boots.

One person I know, another friend of mine, who can testify to that ; who has tasted all the miseries of boots, and who now goes about the world free of them, but not altogether forgetful of them. A stroke of luck, aided perhaps by a certain alacrity on his own part, lifted him out of the class in which one buys one's boots and clothes out of what is left over from a pound a week, into the class in which one spends seventy or eighty pounds a year on clothing. Sometimes he buys boots and shoes at very good shops ; sometimes he has them made for him ; he has them stored in a proper cupboard, and great care is taken of them ; and so his boots and shoes and slippers never chafe, never pinch, never squeak, never hurt or worry him, never bother him ; and,

when he sticks out his toes before the fire, they do not remind him that he is a shabby and contemptible wretch, living meanly on the dust heaps of the world. You might think from this that he had every reason to congratulate himself and be happy, seeing that he has had good follow after evil; but, such is the oddness of the human heart, he isn't contented at all. The thought of the multitudes so much worse off than himself in this matter of foot-wear, gives him no sort of satisfaction. Their boots pinch *him* vicariously. The black rage with the scheme of things that once he felt through suffering in his own person in the days when he limped shabbily through gaily busy, fashionable London streets, in split boots that chafed, he feels now just as badly as he goes about the world very comfortably himself, but among people whom he knows with a pitiless clearness to be almost intolerably uncomfortable. He has no optimistic illusion that things are all right with them. Stupid people who have always been well off, who have always had boots that fit, may think that; but not so, he. In one respect the thought of boots makes him even more viciously angry now, than it used to do. In the old days he was savage with his luck, but hopelessly savage; he thought that bad boots, ugly uncomfortable clothes, rotten houses, were in the very nature of things. Now, when he sees a child sniffing and blubbering and halting upon the pavement, or an old country-woman going painfully along a lane, he no longer recognizes the Pinch of Destiny. His rage is lit by the thought, that there are fools in this world who ought to have foreseen and prevented this. He no longer curses fate, but the dullness of statesmen and powerful responsible people who have neither the

heart, nor courage, nor capacity, to change the state of mismanagement that gives us these things.

Now do not think I am dwelling unduly upon my second friend's good fortune, when I tell you that once he was constantly getting pain and miserable states of mind, colds for example, from the badness of his clothing, shame from being shabby, pain from the neglected state of his teeth, from the indigestion of unsuitable food eaten at unsuitable hours, from the unsanitary ugly house in which he lived and the bad air of that part of London, from things indeed quite beyond the unaided power of a poor overworked man to remedy. And now all these disagreeable things have gone out of his life; he has consulted dentists and physicians, he has hardly any dull days from colds, no pain from toothache at all, no gloom of indigestion. . . .

I will not go on with the tale of good fortune of this lucky person. My purpose is served if I have shown that this misery of boots is not an unavoidable curse upon mankind. If one man can evade it, others can. By good management it may be altogether escaped. If you, or what is more important to most human beings, if any people dear to you, suffer from painful or disfiguring boots or shoes, and you can do no better for them, it is simply because you are getting the worse side of an ill-managed world. It is not the universal lot.

And what I say of boots is true of all the other minor things of life. If your wife catches a bad cold because her boots are too thin for the time of the year, or dislikes going out because she cuts a shabby ugly figure, if your children look painfully nasty because their faces are swollen with toothache, or because their clothes are dirty, old, and ill-fitting,

if you are all dull and disposed to be cross with one another for want of decent amusement and change of air—don't submit, don't be humbugged for a moment into believing that this is the dingy lot of all mankind. Those people you love are living in a badly-managed world and on the wrong side of it; and such wretchednesses are the daily demonstration of that.

Don't say for a moment: 'Such is life.' Don't think their miseries are part of some primordial curse there is no escaping. The disproof of that is for any one to see. There are people, people no more deserving than others, who suffer from none of these things. You may feel you merit no better than to live so poorly and badly that your boots are always hurting you; but do the little children, the girls, the mass of decent hard-up people, deserve no better fate?

III. At this Point a Dispute arises.

Now let us imagine some one who will dispute what I am saying. I do not suppose any one will dispute my argument that a large part of the misery of civilized life—I do not say 'all' but only a 'large part'—arises out of the network of squalid insufficiencies of which I have taken this misery of boots as the simplest example. But I do believe quite a lot of people will be prepared to deny that such miseries can be avoided. They will say that every one cannot have the best of things, that of all sorts of good things, including good leather and cobbling, there is not enough to go round, that lower-class people ought not to mind being shabby and uncomfortable, that they ought to be very glad to live at all, considering what they are, and that it is no good

stirring up discontent about things that cannot be altered or improved.

Such arguments are not to be swept aside with a wave of the hand. It is perfectly true that every one cannot have the best of things; and it is in the nature of things that some boots should be better and some worse. To some people, either by sheer good luck, or through the strength of their determination to have them, the exquisitely good boots, those of the finest leather and the most artistic cut, will fall. I have never denied that. Nobody dreams of a time when every one will have exactly as good boots as every one else; I am not preaching any such childish and impossible equality. But it is a long way from recognizing that there must be a certain picturesque and interesting variety in this matter of foot-wear, to the admission that a large majority of people can never hope for more than to be shod in a manner that is frequently painful, uncomfortable, unhealthy, or unsightly. That admission I absolutely refuse to make. There is good enough leather in the world to make good sightly boots and shoes for all who need them, enough men at leisure and enough machinery to do all the work required, enough unemployed intelligence to organize the shoemaking and shoe distribution for everybody. What stands in the way?

Let us put that question in a rather different form. Here on the one hand—you can see for yourself in any unfashionable part of Great Britain—are people badly, uncomfortably, painfully shod, in old boots, rotten boots, sham boots; and on the other great stretches of land in the world, with unlimited possibilities of cattle and leather and numbers of people, who, either through wealth or trade disorder, are

doing no work. And our question is : 'Why cannot the latter set to work and make and distribute boots ?'

Imagine yourself trying to organize something of this kind of Free Booting expedition ; and consider the difficulties you would meet with. You would begin by looking for a lot of leather. Imagine yourself setting off to South America, for example, to get leather ; beginning at the very beginning by setting to work to kill and flay a herd of cattle. You find at once you are interrupted. Along comes your first obstacle in the shape of a man who tells you the cattle and the leather belong to him. You explain that the leather is wanted for people who have no decent boots in England. He does not care a rap for what you want it for ; before you may take it from him you have to buy him off ; it is his private property, this leather, and the herd and the land over which the herd ranges. You ask him how much he wants for his leather ; and he tells you frankly, just as much as he can induce you to give.

If he chanced to be a person of exceptional sweetness of disposition, you might perhaps argue with him. You might point out to him that this project of giving people splendid boots was a fine one that would put an end to much human misery. He might even sympathize with your generous enthusiasm ; but you would, I think, find him adamantine in his resolve to get just as much out of you for his leather as you could with the utmost effort pay.

Suppose now you said to him : 'But how did you come by this land and these herds, so that you can stand between them and the people who have need of them, exacting profit ?' He would probably either embark upon a long rigmarole, or, what is

much more probable, lose his temper and decline to argue. Pursuing your doubt as to the rightfulness of his property in these things, you might admit he deserved a certain reasonable fee for the rough care he had taken of the land and herds. But cattle breeders are a rude, violent race; and it is doubtful if you would get far beyond your proposition of a reasonable fee. You would in fact have to buy off this owner of the leather at a good thumping price—he exacting just as much as he could get from you—if you wanted to go on with your project.

Well, then you would have to get your leather here; and, to do that, you would have to bring it by railway and ship to this country. And here again you would find people without any desire or intention of helping your project, standing in your course, resolved to make every possible penny out of you on your way to provide sound boots for every one. You would find the railway was private property, and had an owner or owners; you would find the ship was private property, with an owner or owners; and that none of these would be satisfied for a moment with a mere fee adequate to their services. They too would be resolved to make every penny of profit out of you. If you made inquiries about the matter, you would probably find the real owners of railway and ship were companies of shareholders, and that the profit squeezed out of your poor people's boots at this stage went to fill the pockets of old ladies at Torquay, spendthrifts in Paris, well-booted gentlemen in London clubs, all sorts of glossy people. . . .

Well, you get the leather to England at last; and now you want to make it into boots. You take it to a centre of population, invite workers to come to

you, erect sheds and machinery upon a vacant piece of ground, and start off in a sort of fury of generous industry, boot-making. . . . Do you? There comes along an owner for that vacant piece of ground, declares it is his property, demands an enormous sum for rent. And your workers all around you, you find, cannot get house room until they too have paid rent—every inch of the country is somebody's property, and a man may not shut his eyes for an hour without the consent of some owner or other. And the food your shoemakers eat, the clothes they wear, have all paid tribute and profit to land-owners, cart-owners, house-owners, endless tribute over and above the fair pay for work that has been done upon them. . . .

So one might go on. But you begin to see now one set of reasons at least why every one has not good comfortable boots. There could be plenty of leather; and there is certainly plenty of labour and quite enough intelligence in the world to manage that and a thousand other desirable things. But institution of Private Property in land and naturally produced things, these obstructive claims that prevent you using ground, or moving material, and that have to be bought out at exorbitant prices, stand in the way. All these owners hang like parasites upon your enterprise at its every stage; and, by the time you get your sound boots well made in England, you find them costing about a pound a pair—high out of the reach of the general mass of people. And you will perhaps not think me fanciful and extravagant when I confess that when I realize this, and look at poor people's boots in the street, and see them cracked and misshapen and altogether nasty, I seem to see also a lot of little phantom

land-owners, cattle-owners, house-owners, owners of all sorts, swarming over their pinched and weary feet like leeches, taking much and giving nothing, and being the real cause of all such miseries.

Now is this a necessary and unavoidable thing ?—that is our question. Is there no other way of managing things than to let these property-owners exact their claims, squeeze comfort, pride, happiness, out of the lives of the common run of people? Because, of course, it is not only the boots they squeeze into meanness and badness. It is the claim and profit of the land-owner and house-owner that make our houses so ugly, shabby, and dear, that make our roadways and railways so crowded and inconvenient, that sweat our schools, our clothing, our food—boots we took merely by way of one example of a universal trouble.

Well, there are a number of people who say there is a better way, and that the world could be made infinitely better in all these matters, made happier and better than it ever has been in these respects, by refusing to have private property in all these universally necessary things. They say that it is possible to have the land administered, and such common and needful things as leather produced, and boots manufactured, and no end of other such generally necessary services carried on, not for the profit of individuals, but for the good of all. They propose that the State should take away the land, and the railways, and the shipping, and many great organized enterprises from their owners, who use them simply to squeeze the means for a wasteful private expenditure out of the common mass of men, and should administer all these things, generously and boldly, not for profit, but for service. It

is this idea of exacting *profit* they hold which is the very root of the evil. These are the Socialists ; and they are the only people who do hold out any hope of far-reaching change that will alter the present dingy state of affairs, of which this painful wretchedness of boots is only one typical symbol.

IV. Is Socialism Possible ?

I will not pretend to be impartial in this matter, and to discuss as though I had an undecided mind, whether the world would be better if we could abolish private property in land and in many things of general utility ; because I have no doubt left in the matter. I believe that private property in these things is no more necessary and unavoidable than private property in our fellow-creatures, or private property in bridges and roads. The idea that anything and everything may be claimed as private property belongs to the dark ages of the world ; and it is not only a monstrous injustice, but a still more monstrous inconvenience. Suppose we still admitted private property in high roads, and let every man who had a scrap of high road haggle a bargain with us before we could drive by in a cab ! You say life would be unendurable. But indeed it amounts to something a little like that if we use a railway now ; and it is quite like that if one wants a spot of ground somewhere upon which one may live. I see no more difficulty in managing land, factories, and the like, publicly for the general good, than there is in managing roads and bridges, and the post office and the police. So far I see no impossibility whatever in Socialism. To abolish private property in these things would be to abolish that swarm of parasites, whose greed for profit and

dividend hampers and makes a thousand useful and delightful enterprises costly or hopeless. It would abolish them ; but is that any objection whatever ?

And as for taking such property from the owners ; why shouldn't we ? The world has not only in the past taken slaves from their owners, with no compensation or with a meagre compensation ; but in the history of mankind, dark as it is, there are innumerable cases of slave-owners resigning their inhuman rights. You may say that to take away property from people is unjust and robbery ; but is that really so ? Suppose you found a number of children in a nursery all very dull and unhappy because one of them, who had been badly spoilt, had got all the toys together and claimed them all, and refused to let the others have any. Would you not dispossess the child, however honest its illusion that it was right to be greedy ? That is practically the position of the property-owner to-day. You may say, if you choose, that the property-owners, land-owners for example, must be bought out and not robbed ; but since getting the money to buy them out involves taxing the property of some one else, who may possibly have a better claim to it than the land-owner to his, I don't quite see where the honesty of that course comes in. You can only give property for property in buying and selling ; and if private property is not robbery, then not only Socialism but ordinary taxation must be. But if taxation is a justifiable proceeding, if you can tax me (as I am taxed) for public services, a shilling and more out of every twenty shillings I earn, then I do not see why you should not put a tax upon the land-owner if you want to do so, of a half or two-thirds of his land, or upon the railway shareholder of ten

or fifteen or twenty shillings in the pound on his shares. In every change some one has to bear the brunt; every improvement in machinery and industrial organization deprives some poor people of an income; and I do not see why we should be so extraordinarily tender to the rich, to those who have been unproductive all their lives, when they stand in the way of general happiness. And though I deny the right to compensation I do not deny its probable advisability. So far as the question of method goes it is quite conceivable that we may partially compensate the property-owners and make all sorts of mitigating arrangements to avoid cruelty to them in our attempt to end the wider cruelties of to-day.

But, apart from the justice of the case, many people seem to regard Socialism as a hopeless dream, because, as they put it, 'it is against human nature'. Every one with a scrap of property in land, shares, or what not, they tell us, will be bitterly opposed to the coming of Socialism; and, as such people have all the leisure and influence in the world, and as all able and energetic people tend naturally to join that class, there never can be any effectual force to bring Socialism about. But that seems to me to confess a very base estimate of human nature. There are, no doubt, a number of dull, base, rich people who hate and dread Socialism for purely selfish reasons; but it is quite possible to be a property-owner and yet be anxious to see Socialism come to its own.

For example, the man whose private affairs I know best in the world, the second friend I named, the owner of all those comfortable boots, gives time and energy and money to further this hope of Socialism, although he pays income-tax on twelve hundred a year, and has shares and property to the value of

some thousands of pounds. And that he does out of no instinct of sacrifice. He believes he would be happier and more comfortable in a Socialistic state of affairs, when it would not be necessary for him to hold on to that life-belt of invested property. He finds it—and quite a lot of well-off people are quite of his way of thinking—a constant flaw upon a life of comfort and pleasant interests to see so many people, who might be his agreeable friends and associates, detestably under educated, detestably housed, and in the most detestable clothes and boots, and so detestably broken in spirit that they will not treat him as an equal. It makes him feel he is like that spoilt child in the nursery; he feels ashamed and contemptible; and, since individual charity only seems in the long run to make matters worse, he is ready to give a great deal of his life, and lose his entire little heap of possessions if need be, very gladly lose it, to change the present order of things in a comprehensive manner.

I am quite convinced that there are numbers of much richer and more influential people who are of his way of thinking. Much more likely to obstruct the way to Socialism is the ignorance, the want of courage, the stupid want of imagination of the very poor, too shy and timid and clumsy to face any change they can evade! But, even with them, popular education is doing its work; and I do not fear but that in the next generation we shall find Socialists even in the slums. The unimaginative person who owns some little bit of property, an acre or so of freehold land, or a hundred pounds in the savings bank, will no doubt be the most tenacious passive resister to Socialistic ideas; and such, I fear, we must reckon, together with the insensitive rich,

as our irreconcilable enemies, as irremovable pillars of the present order. The mean and timid elements in 'human nature' are, and will be, I admit, against Socialism; but they are not all 'human nature', not half human nature. And when, in the whole history of the world, have meanness and timidity won a struggle? It is passion, it is enthusiasm, and indignation that mould the world to their will—and I cannot see how any one can go into the back streets of London, or any large British town, and not be filled up with shame, and passionate resolve to end so grubby and mean a state of affairs as is displayed there.

I don't think the 'human nature' argument against the possibility of Socialism will hold water.

V. Socialism means Revolution.

Let us be clear about one thing: that Socialism means revolution, that it means a change in the everyday texture of life. It may be a very gradual change, but it will be a very complete one. You cannot change the world, and at the same time not change the world. You will find Socialists about, or at any rate men calling themselves Socialists, who will pretend that this is not so, who will assure you that some odd little jobbing about municipal gas and water is Socialism, and back-stairs intervention between Conservative and Liberal the way to the millennium. You might as well call a gas jet in the lobby of a meeting-house, the glory of God in Heaven!

Socialism aims to change, not only the boots on people's feet, but the clothes they wear, the houses they inhabit, the work they do, the education they get, their places, their honours, and all their possessions. Socialism aims to make a new world out of

the old. It can only be attained by the intelligent, outspoken, courageous resolve of a great multitude of men and women. You must get absolutely clear in your mind that Socialism means a complete change, a break with history, with much that is picturesque ; whole classes will vanish. The world will be vastly different, with a different sort of houses, different sort of people. All the different trades and industries will be changed, the medical profession will be carried on under different conditions, engineering, science, the theatrical trade, the clerical trade, schools, hotels, almost every trade, will have to undergo as complete an internal change as a caterpillar does when it becomes a moth. If you are afraid of so much change as that, it is better you should funk about it now than later. The whole system has to be changed, if we are to get rid of the masses of dull poverty that render our present state detestable to any sensitive man or woman. That, and no less, is the aim of all sincere Socialists : The establishment of a new and better order of society by the abolition of private property in land, in natural productions, and in their exploitation—a change as profound as the abolition of private property in slaves would have been in ancient Rome or Athens. If you demand less than that, if you are not prepared to struggle for that, you are not really a Socialist. If you funk that, then you must make up your mind to square your life to a sort of personal and private happiness with things as they are, and decide with my other friend that ' it doesn't do to think about boots '.

It is well to insist upon one central idea. Socialism is a common-sense, matter-of-fact proposal to change our conventional admission of what is or is not pro-

perty, and to rearrange the world according to these revised conceptions. A certain number of clever people, dissatisfied with the straightforwardness of this, have set themselves to put it in some brilliant obscure way; they will tell you that Socialism is based on the philosophy of Hegel, or that it turns on a theory of Rent, or that it is somehow muddled up with a sort of white Bogey called the Overman, and all sorts of brilliant, nonsensical, unappetizing things. The theory of Socialism, so far as the English people are concerned, seems to have got up into the clouds, and its practice down into the drains; and it is well to warn inquiring men, that neither the epigram above nor the job beneath are more than the accidental accompaniments of Socialism. Socialism is a very large, but a very plain, honest, and human enterprise; its ends are to be obtained neither by wit nor cunning, but by outspoken resolve, by the self-abnegation, the enthusiasm, and the loyal co-operation of great masses of people.

The main thing, therefore, is the creation of these great masses of people out of the intellectual confusion and vagueness of the present time. Let me suppose that you find yourself in sympathy with this tract, that you, like my second friend, find the shabby dullness, the positive misery of a large proportion of the population of our world, make life under its present conditions almost intolerable, and that it is in the direction of Socialism that the only hope of a permanent remedy lies. What are we to do? Obviously to give our best energies to making other people Socialists, to organizing ourselves with all other Socialists, irrespective of class or the minor details of creed, and to making ourselves audible,

visible, effectual as Socialists, wherever and whenever we can.

We have to think about Socialism, read about it, discuss it ; so that we may be assured and clear and persuasive about it. We have to confess our faith openly and frequently. We must refuse to be called Liberal or Conservative, Republican or Democrat, or any of those ambiguous things. Everywhere we must make or join a Socialist organization, a club or association or what not, so that we may ' count '. For us, as for the early Christians, preaching our gospel is the supreme duty. Until Socialists can be counted, and counted upon by the million, little will be done. When they are—a new world will be ours.

Above all, if I may offer advice to a fellow-Socialist, I would say : Cling to the simple essential idea of Socialism, which is the abolition of private property in anything but what a man has earned or made. Do not complicate your cause with elaborations. And keep in your mind, if you can, some sort of talisman to bring you back to that essential gospel, out of the confusions and warring suggestions of everyday discussion.

For my own part, I have, as I said at the beginning, a prepossession with boots ; and my talisman is this :—The figure of a badly fed but rather pretty little girl of ten or eleven, dirty, and her hands coarse with rough usage, her poor pretty child's body in ungainly rags, and on her feet, big broken-down boots that hurt her. And particularly I think of her wretched sticks of legs and the limp of her feet ; and all those phantom owners and profit-takers I spoke of, they are there about her martyrdom, leech-like, clinging to her as she goes. . . .

I want to change everything in the world that made that; and I do not greatly care what has to go in the process. Do you?

H. G. WELLS.

[Here is just a bit of hard fact to carry out what I say. It is a quotation from a letter from a workman to my friend Mr. Chiozza Money, one of the best informed writers upon labour questions in England:

'I am a railway man, in constant work at 30*s*. per week. I am the happy, or otherwise, father of six healthy children. Last year I bought twenty pairs of boots. This year, up to date, I have bought ten pairs, costing £2; and yet at the present time, my wife and five of the children have only one pair each. I have two pairs, both of which let in the water; but I see no prospect of getting new ones. I ought to say, of course, that my wife is a thoroughly domesticated woman, and I am one of the most temperate of men. So much so, that if all I spend in luxuries was saved it would not buy a pair of boots once a year. But this is the point I want to mention. During 1903 my wages were 25*s*. 6*d*. per week; and I then had the six children. My next-door neighbour was a boot-maker and repairer. He fell out of work, and was out for months. During that time, of course, my children's boots needed repairing as at other times. I had not the money to pay for them being repaired, so had to do what repairing I could myself. One day I found out that I was repairing boots on one side of the wall, and my neighbour on the other side out of work, and longing to do the work I was compelled to do myself. . . .'

The wall was a commercial organization of society based on private property in land and natural productions. These two men must work for the owners or not at all; they cannot work for one another. Food first, then rent; and boots, if you can, when all the owners are paid.]

PRINTED IN ENGLAND AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY